Complete Primary Election Analysis

california JOURNAL

APRIL 2002
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Right again

GOP makes a surprise turn to Bill Simon

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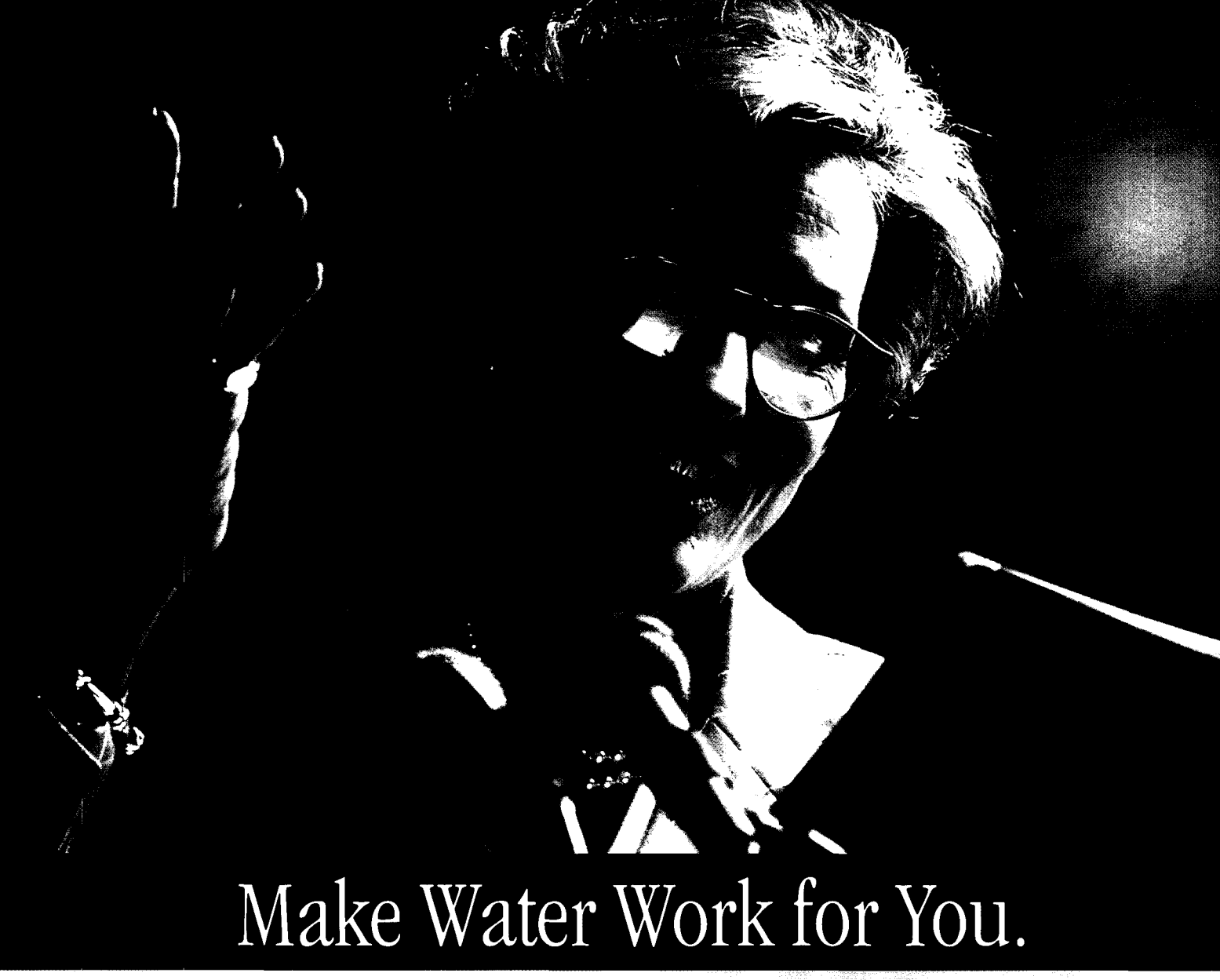

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California JOURNAL
April 2002
Volume XXXIII, Number 4

Up Front
IE nightmare

Talking Points
Citizen candidate

Soap Box
Bill Jones speaks out

Public Opinion
The California voter

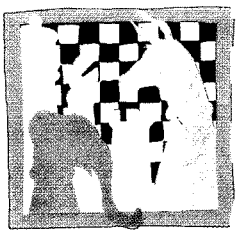
Cal Watch
Terrorism and tolerance

Healthy debate

On page 45, the *Journal* introduces the 2002-2004 California State Assembly. There is a bit of political cynicism on our part to suggest that the November election will play little or no role in determining the next Assembly. And it would actually be nice if we're wrong about some of the members we identify. But the reality is that nearly all of the new districts — being used for the first time in this election — are so dominated by one party or the other that the only serious competition was in the primaries. Experts say one result will be a Legislature with fewer centrists and more liberals or conservatives. It will also change the nature of our election year, eliminating at least some of the debate about California's problems and its future. This issue of the *Journal* is about that election-year debate and competition. It's still a critical ingredient in good policy, even if it's not as powerful in politics.

— David Lesher

Spinning the Race for Governor



After the dust cleared in the primary for governor, two political veterans from the right and left identify critical turning points in the race so far and outline the likely strategies for the months ahead.

By Philip J. Trounstine and Dan Schnur

Cross Politicking

Did Gov. Gray Davis spend $10 million attacking GOP candidate Richard Riordan so he could face the more conservative Bill Simon in November? Some think so, but not all. Listen to strategists for Davis and Simon explain.

Edited by David Lesher

Reagan Rerun?

A lot has changed since 1966. But if Democrats are happy about facing a conservative in November, Republicans warn they should be careful what they wish for. The last time a Democratic governor fiddled with the GOP primary, Ronald Reagan was the conservative who was supposed to lose.

By Lou Cannon

Constitutional Officers

A look at down-ticket races for constitutional offices, including heated contests for controller, insurance commissioner, secretary of state and superintendent of public instruction.

Congress and the Legislature

With a status quo reapportionment, the hottest district races of the year were held in the primary. The *Journal* offers the details and analysis behind every competitive race and the results of all 153 contests for the California Legislature and the state delegation to Congress. We also look at the campaigns and the outcomes for six ballot propositions that were featured on the March ballot.

26 Congress
31 Senate
34 Assembly
46 Ballot Propositions

Cover: Photo of Republican gubernatorial candidate Bill Simon by Adrees Latif, 3/05/02, Reuters News Service

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umbrage

Friends like these. Independent expenditures were all the rage in this primary, as they likely will be in the November election. But IEs, as they are known, were something of a two-edged sword for some candidates they were supposed to help. On the Democratic side, the business-oriented JOBS PAC ran independent expenditures in several venues only to see their efforts used as ammo against the candidates they tried to help. That's because one of the largest single donors to the JOBS PAC was Philip Morris, the tobacco giant. Smoke from that donation helped choke Democrats in at least two Assembly districts: Andrei Cherny in the 40th and Rod Diridon Jr. in the 22nd. It was even worse on the Republican side. The California Union of Safety Employees reportedly sent out a slate mailer to targeted Republican households in the 4th Senate District to bolster the candidacy of Assemblyman Dick Dickerson, who was embroiled in a tense contest with Assemblyman Sam Aanestad. The mailer urged Republicans to vote for Dickerson. Unfortunately, every other candidate listed on the mailer was a Democrat. It hit GOP mailboxes at the same time Aanestad was savaging Dickerson for being too cozy with Democrats. And in the 36th Senate District primary between Assembly members Dennis Hollingsworth and Charlene Zettel, an IE from the prison guards' union was responsible for a mailer that showed Hollingsworth's photo sandwiched between those of Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell. It was *supposed* to help Zettel by linking her opponent with two "extremists." But in a very conservative area like east San Diego County, Robertson and Falwell are heroes. "It was amateur hour," said a political consultant. "The IEs ignored what was actually going on in the campaigns. They paid no attention to what their candidates were saying."

Bill of the Year. The best piece of legislation to be introduced in the current session was put across the Senate's desk late in February. Sponsored by state Senator Ross Johnson (R-Fullerton), it will move the primary for all state offices from the first week in March to the second week in September. The bill does not affect the California presidential primary, which would remain in March. Designed to enhance California's clout in the presidential sweepstakes, the March primary has had a enervating affect on state and local elections. Simply put, nobody pays attention to an election season that begins on the heels of the Christmas holidays. Not only that, the eight-month interval between primary and general election makes for a hideously drawn-out campaign. A compact campaign season would be a public service.

Darn that scanner. On Election Night, Merced County seemed to have bucked the state's dismal voting performance by reporting an 84 percent turnout. It was assumed that this heart-of-Condit Country county had come to bid Gary adieu. It also seemed too good to be true. And it was. Seems county officials accidentally scanned an optical voting cartridge twice. The actual turnout was closer to 39 percent.

Correction. Last month we erroneously blamed opponents of Proposition 45 for using San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown Jr. as a poster child in their effort to defeat the initiative. As opponents vociferously pointed out, it was the "Yes on 45" campaign that used Brown who, as Assembly speaker, was the main target of term limits back when Proposition 140 was passed in 1990. Thus, the specter of Brown served both to pass term limits and in an attempt to tweak it. *California Journal* regrets the error.

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Film Watch:

Taking to the streets

Citizen S.O'B.
Mud Run Productions

If not for the feature-length documentary "Citizen S.O'B," Shawn Casey O'Brien might have become just another minor candidate with lofty ideals out of sync with political reality. But the Democrat who recently ran for secretary of state had enough political wisdom to let cameramen shadow him during his 40-day quest for higher office.

O'Brien, who is physically handicapped and with limited income, single-handedly tried to secure 10,000 signatures to place his name on the March ballot. It's not exactly the path of least resistance, and one most candidates avoid by dashing off a check for the $2,625 filing fee.

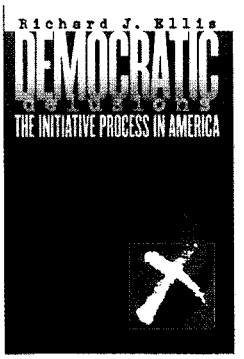
"Citizen S.O'B." (the candidate's initials) won't likely appear anytime soon at your nearest theater. But the film producers have high hopes it will snag a few low-budget film awards or be picked up by the art film theaters. If it does, catch the opportunity to witness on film the good, the bad and the ugly that arise when an ordinary citizen with no connection to big money, big names or party machinery strives for elected office.

Shawn Casey O'Brien

Excerpts:

From the bookshelf

Democratic Delusions
The Initiative Process in America
By Richard J. Ellis
University Press of Kansas



The initiative process started out as a reform to help break a stranglehold on government by powerful special interests. It was to be the equivalent of a mass town meeting, where citizens come together to pass judgment on an existing law (the referendum), vote in a new law or amend the constitution (the initiative).

It worked that way for a while.

But as Richard J. Ellis explains in this new book, the initiative process may now be putting democracy at risk. Ellis, a political science professor at Willamette University in Oregon, argues that the reality behind the initiative process is far different than the philosophy that led to its creation nearly a century ago.

There is, writes Ellis, a "dark side" to direct democracy. More often than not, initiatives are written by narrow special interests, are ill-considered, subvert legislative checks and balances, undermine the deliberative process and threaten the rights of minority groups. The notion of an idea rising from a populist groundswell to become law has gone the way of the typewriter, and ordinary citizens, Ellis warns, have little to do with the process. Instead, initiatives are the province of politicians, perennial activists, wealthy interests and a cottage industry devoted to qualifying measures for the ballot.

With its detailed analysis and anecdotal illustrations, Ellis' book adds another voice to that of *Washington Post* columnist David Broder, whose book "Democracy Derailed" (Harcourt, 2000) unmasked the pitfalls associated with the nation's multimillion-dollar initiative business.

Quotables...

"As the voters of this state will find out over the next eight months, there are some important differences between us."

Gov. Gray Davis, primary night speech

— Compiled by CJ Editors

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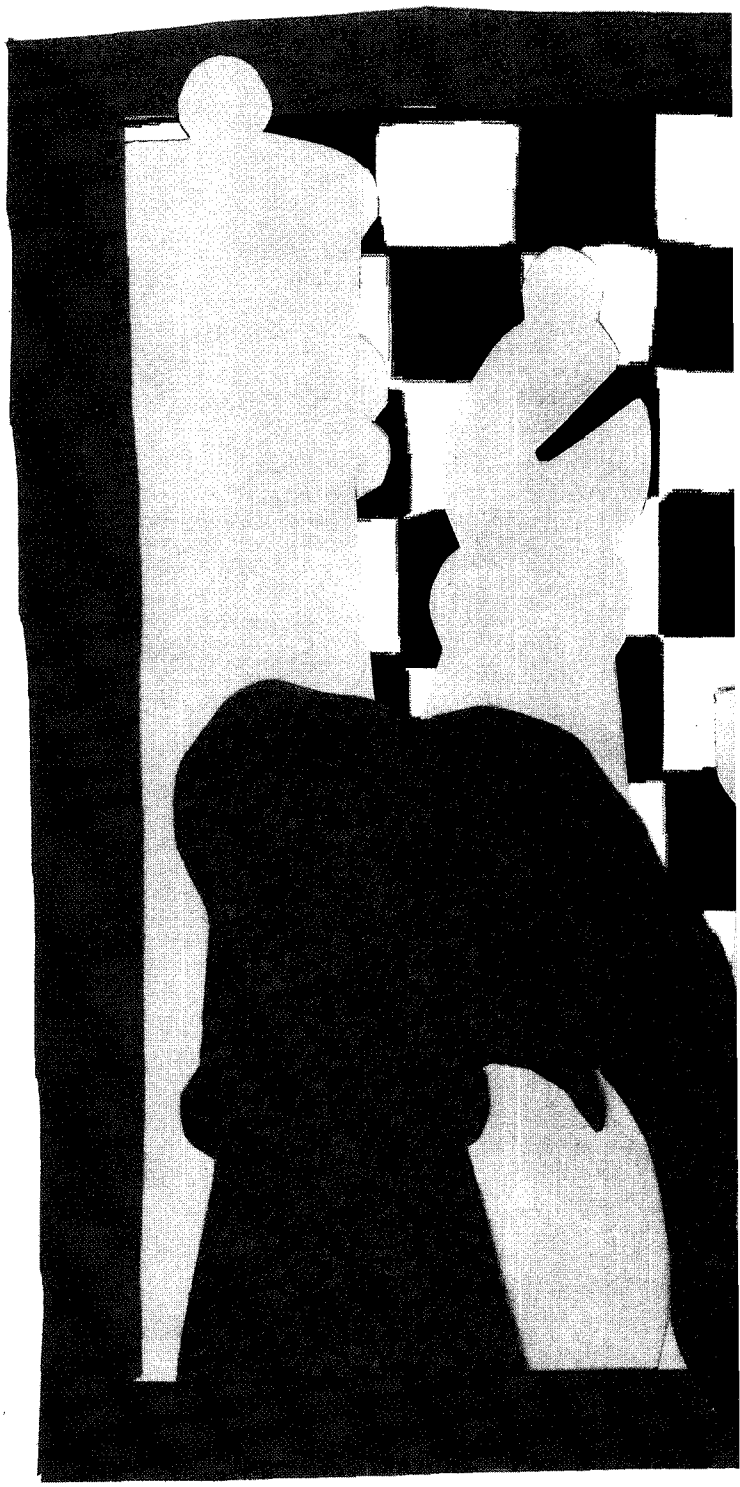
ELECTION 2002

Spinning the r

The stakes and strategie

By Philip J. Trounstine

Left Spin



Here's what happened in California's March primary: Republicans voted like Republicans.

Who woulda' thunk it? Surely not Dick Riordan, who — with the blessing of President George Bush and the California GOP brain trust — thought he could browbeat his fellow Republicans into voting as if they were moderate Democrats in March so they could throw out a moderate Democrat in November.

A screwy strategy, you say? As Bill Simon says, "Next subject, please."

How did the inexperienced son of a former U.S. Treasury Secretary with only a passing acquaintance with the ballot box win the GOP nomination? He did it the old-fashioned way. He bought it. Cheap. Because Gray Davis had spent the Gross National Product of Tuvalu driving down the value of the one thing in Simon's way: Dick Riordan.

Contrary to the fashionable analysis, Davis and his campaign pros — Garry South, David Doak, Tom O'Donnell and Paul Maslin — did not set out to elect Simon the GOP nominee. Rather, they recognized that a moderate, pro-choice Republican could pose a threat to the governor in November. And since Riordan was running a general election campaign against Davis, they decided to join the battle.

Their goal: to prevent Riordan from gaining traction among swing-voting moderate Democrats and independents, especially in Northern California, who might find Riordan attractive. The danger was clear. A January *Los Angeles Times* poll showed Riordan with a 45-33 favorable rating among Democratic likely voters.

They wasted no time, exposing Riordan on TV as two-faced and unreliable on his pro-choice abortion stand. For good measure, they nailed him for gouging the state on energy costs while he was mayor of Los Angeles. The result was palpable in the next *Times* poll. By February, Riordan's favorable rating among Democrats was 40-45 — a 12-point rise in his unfavorable rating and a 5-point drop in his favorable; a net swing of 17 percentage points in one month.

And while Davis was squeezing him from the left,

Continued on page 12

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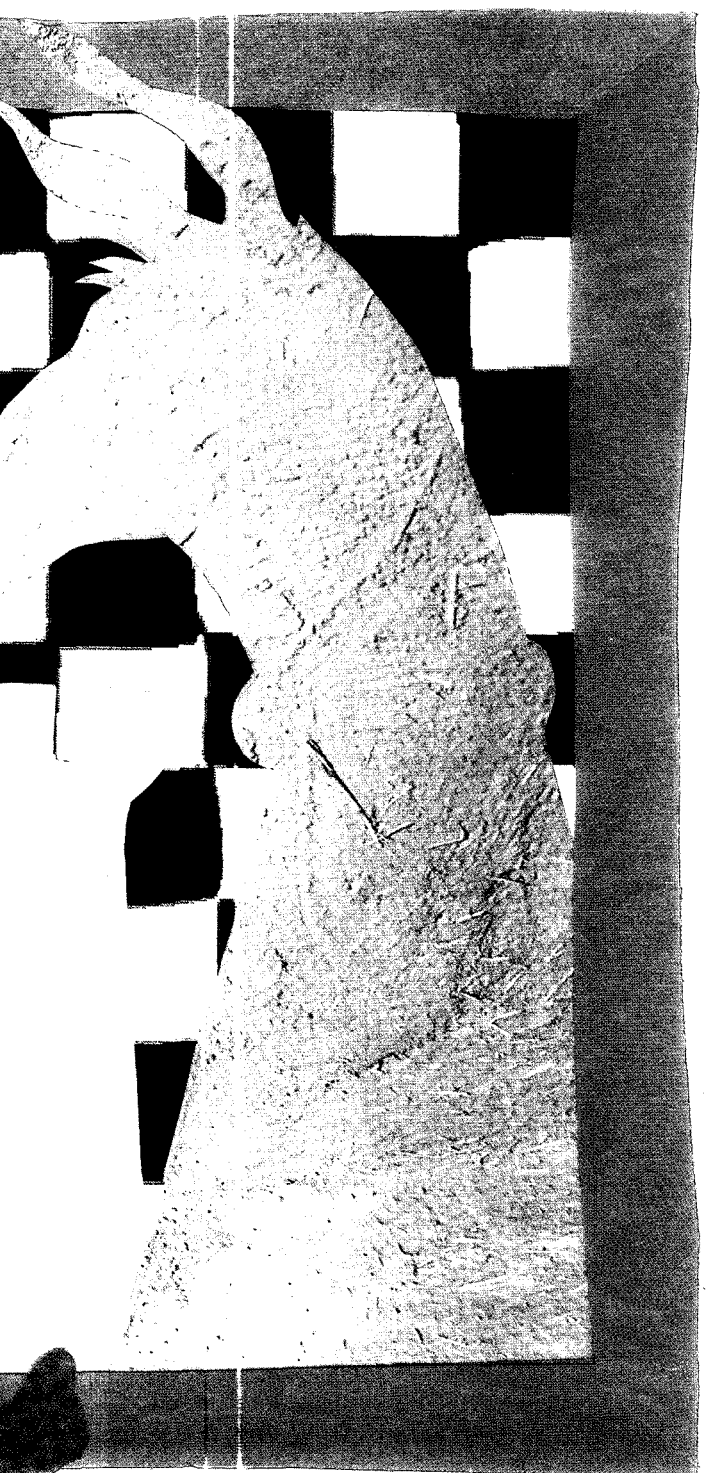
ce for governor

Campaign 2002

By Dan Schnur

Right Spin



Graphic by Scarlet Shin

It's not easy being Gray.

Governor Davis has a state mired in economic recession, student test scores stuck at the bottom of most national rankings, a lingering energy crisis and a $17 billion budget deficit. Almost one-fifth of California Democrats didn't vote for him in an uncontested primary, his own party's legislative leaders and biggest financial backers are calling for tax increases, and the state political media's favorite pastime is linking campaign contributions to gubernatorial action.

But there's no need to weep for Gray Davis. He carries with him the ultimate electoral weapon, the political kryptonite that brings strong Republicans to their knees and makes swing voters swoon.

Gray Davis is pro-choice. His opponent is not. And he's determined to ride the abortion issue all the way to re-election.

During his 1998 campaign for governor, Davis spent the overwhelming majority of his advertising budget on commercials focused on abortion and gun control. This year, rather than risk a general election campaign against a candidate who shared his position on those two wedge issues, Davis spent more than $10 million on ads attacking former Los Angeles mayor Richard Riordan, ultimately contributing to Riordan's primary defeat.

Preparing to campaign against GOP nominee Bill Simon, Davis is already brandishing the abortion club, traveling the state using Simon's pro-life beliefs as a cudgel with which to begin his general election attack. Simon points out that abortion rights are an issue that was decided by the U.S. Supreme Court almost three decades ago and there's nothing that a California governor can do about it without kidnapping Sandra Day O'Connor and Ruth Bader Ginsberg. Simon repeats patiently, and endlessly, that most Californians are far more interested in the condition of their schools and roads, their jobs and taxes, the quality of the state's health care and public safety services. Public opinion polls bear him out.

But Davis knows better. He knows that Californians dismiss his efforts to improve the public schools, worry about his plans for confronting state budget and economic issues, and openly scoff at his losing fight against an ugly energy crisis. Abortion is the last, and most reliable, arrow

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in his quiver. So he's going to shoot it as many times as he can.

Davis' strongest personal attribute is his sheer relentlessness. It's easy to forget now, but five years ago, no one really wanted him to be governor. His own party begged Dianne Feinstein to run, settled for Jane Harman, flirted with Al Checchi, and did everything but look under seat cushions for a candidate with more appeal than then-Lieutenant Governor Davis. But Davis ran anyway, raised $9 million with nothing more than a videotape and pure, naked determination, and marched through the opening that Checchi and Harman provided him while throwing mud at each other.

In the general election against Dan Lungren, Davis' message became even more focused. Lungren was pro-life and pro-gun, a set of positions that Davis repeated with a discipline rarely seen in organic life forms. After gaining the governor's office, Davis lasered in on education, calling it his "first, second and third priority." Such was his determination to stay on message that, in the days leading up to his 2001 State of the State address, the governor had to be convinced to include references to California's burgeoning energy crisis in a speech that was otherwise devoted to his education agenda.

Davis quickly adjusted, however, and his message fixation settled on energy with the same resolve focused on previous targets. For months, Californians listened to their governor rail against energy suppliers and federal regulators with a fervor rarely seen on utility issues. The governor's political machine drove most players in the crisis to unprecedented levels of unpopularity.

The state's energy debacle may have proven that even the most committed message discipline has its limits. For even while Davis' various targets sustained serious political damage, so did Davis himself. Voters internalized his message, but they also used the crisis to take their first long look at their governor. Listening to his daily doses of blame-laying and finger-pointing, Californians found relatively little from Davis in the way of leadership and direction. They quickly came to believe that Davis had not caused the state's energy problems. But they also expected their governor to solve those problems. When he didn't, Davis' poll numbers took a hit from which they have yet to recover.

The dramatically reduced public approval that confronted Davis on energy quickly spread to other issues. Polls show that Californians now give their governor low marks on education and economic issues as well. Davis' latest message gambit, his role in the war on terrorism, has had mixed results. Voters strongly approve of his work in the area of homeland defense, but rank the matter near the bottom of their list of primary concerns.

So four years later, Davis' message has come full circle. The Education Governor, the Energy Governor and the Anti-Terrorism Governor have all come and gone. Davis is back to where he started in the 1998 campaign, and his primary mugging of Riordan allows him the opportunity to return to the issue he used to gain the governor's office in the first place. Once again, Davis is the Abortion Governor.

It's been said that everyone is the victim of their own success. It's understandable that Davis would return to the political issue that brought him his greatest achievement. But California's landscape has changed dramatically since his last campaign, which may conspire to prevent him from turning the 2002 campaign into a rerun of his previous greatest hits.

Four years ago, California was enjoying a strong economic boom. The state budget was showing record surpluses. Violent crime had declined for the eighth consecutive year. In other words, the political atmosphere was tranquil. There was relatively little a pro-life opponent could talk about that would change the subject from Davis' emphasis on abortion.

But now, the state's economic, energy and education problems give Simon ample space on which to maneuver. During his first days as the nominee, Simon has displayed a mes-

The Trounstine Playbook

Battleground Issues
Tier One: Abortion, gun control and voting
Tier Two: Energy, education, economy and budget.

Key Support
Revenge of the Soccer Moms.

Swing Regions
The Suburban Crescent: San Diego, San Bernardino, Riverside, Santa Clara, Contra Costa and Sacramento counties.

Bumper Stickers We May See...or Not
For Simon: All Power to the Squash Squad!
For Davis: What, Me Worry?
How Davis will attack Simon: A Failed Savings & Loan Operator Californians Just Can't Trust.

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Davis' message has come full circle. The Education Governor, the Energy Governor and the Anti-Terrorism Governor have all come and gone... Once again, Davis is the Abortion Governor.

sage discipline almost as focused as Davis', turning back the governor's attacks with an equally insistent refrain that there are other policy matters that require more immediate attention.

A confrontation between such an irresistible force and an immovable object could make for a deadlocked campaign. But one real-world issue could break the standoff: the $17 billion budget deficit, the largest in California's history. Before Davis can face voters in the fall, he must fill that gaping shortfall over the summer. Given the options of program cuts, tax increases or massive borrowing, the governor is already realizing that it will be impossible to resolve this mess without inflicting, and incurring, huge amounts of political pain.

While Davis considers his alternative brands of budget hemlock, both parties' legislative caucuses will make his situation even more difficult. State Senate President pro Tempore John Burton has already called for more than $10 billion in tax increases, a proposal which may not cost Burton many votes in downtown San Francisco, but which would be a quick dagger to Davis' political heart. Recently, the powerful California Federation of Teachers, one of Davis' largest financial backers, joined the call for new taxes as well.

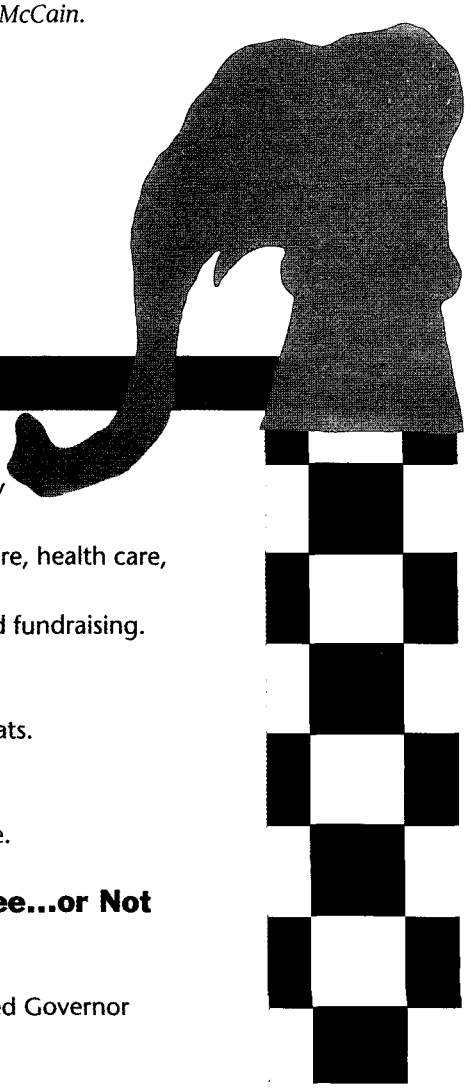
At the same time, Republicans have even less incentive to provide votes for Davis' budget than last year, when four GOP Assembly members risked their party's ire by putting up the last votes needed for passage. All four of those legislators either lost their primary campaigns this year or have announced their retirements, not an encouraging signal for a Republican member who may be feeling pressure from Davis this summer as he tries to round up support.

Republican legislators also understand that, while a prolonged budget standoff hurts everyone involved, Davis will bear the brunt of the political fallout. So they can afford to wait for a budget that's more to their liking, knowing that the governor will ultimately be forced to come their way with a better offer. If the stalemate lasts through the summer and into the fall as it did 10 years ago, Davis' poll numbers are likely to take the same sort of beating that former Governor Pete Wilson's did in 1992.

But Wilson had two years for the economy, and his political prospects, to rebound before he faced re-election. Davis will probably have no more than two or three months. That gives voters relatively little time to forget or forgive their governor for all the unpopular decisions that will be required to fix that budget mess.

Davis' gamble will be that a 29-year-old-U.S. Supreme Court decision on abortion rights will mean more to Californians than the relatively fresh memories of Davis-sponsored tax increases, budget cuts and government IOUs. Not the safest bet in the world, but this won't be the first time that the Davis message machine has had to overcome some seriously steep odds.

Dan Schnur is a visiting instructor at UC Berkeley's Institute of Governmental Studies. He served as communications director for former Governor Pete Wilson and the 2000 presidential campaign of U.S. Senator John McCain.



The Schnur Playbook

Battleground Issues

Tier One: Energy, education, economy and budget

Tier Two: Transportation, infrastructure, health care, public safety

Tier Three: Abortion, gun control and fundraising.

Key Support

Return of the Reagan/Wilson Democrats.

Swing Regions

The battle is for the suburbs statewide.

Bumper Stickers We May See...or Not

For Simon: More Power to California

For Davis: This Space for Rent

How Simon will attack Davis: A Failed Governor Californians Can't Risk

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Phil Trounstine

Continued from page 8

multimillionaire Simon pulled a cool $5 million out of his own pocket to go after Riordan from the right. Taxes and Bill Clinton. Yow. Worse, stealth candidate Bill Jones had conservative icon and former Governor George Deukmejian — whom Riordan had insulted — go on the air, excoriating the former L.A. mayor.

And guess what? Riordan's favorability among Republicans suffered even more than it did with Democrats. From 63-16 in January, Riordan's favorability among Republicans slipped to 54-30 in February — a whopping 23-point reversal.

Riordan was toast.

Conventional wisdom had held that the early March primary would favor the well-financed candidate with built-in name identification. It was supposed to be unfair to the newcomer. But Riordan's sickening collapse and Simon's extraordinary surge demonstrated that conventional wisdom is always wrong. Despite the whining from Riordan's handlers, there's little evidence from this campaign to suggest that a later primary would have yielded a different result.

Once again, the California Republican Party had failed to rally its center and left in a primary. According to the *L.A. Times* exit poll, conservatives outnumbered moderates at the polls 57-38 percent. And 54 percent of those GOP voters said abortion should always be illegal, with few exceptions. This was — and is — Simon's base: the rock-solid, deeply ideological, uncompromising conservatives who comprise, at best, one-third of the California electorate.

Simon's campaign to capture the GOP hard core — orchestrated by strategists Sal Russo and Jeff Flint — was smart. Simon ran as exactly who he is: a staunch conservative who opposes abortion, gun control, taxes and government regulation. His best line: "Gray Davis didn't plan to fail, he just failed to plan." He was disciplined enough to stay on message and willing to spend his own money. And he was ruthless enough to attack his friend and fellow parishioner, Riordan, when the professionals told him he had to.

Would Simon have won without Davis? Absolutely not. But having won as he did — by exposing himself as a Heritage Foundation ideologue — he's made it virtually impossible for himself now to repudiate the hard-right positions he used to capture the hearts and minds of the GOP's knuckle-draggers.

But Riordan's sickening collapse and Simon's extraordinary surge demonstrated that conventional wisdom is always wrong.

Now, you may scratch your head and wonder: Wait a minute, the most important issues to California voters are the economy, education, energy and health care, right? Yes. Absolutely. If you ask people what are the most important issues facing the state, that's what they say.

But there's another set of issues — prerequisite, threshold, gateway issues — in California. These include abortion, gun control and off-shore oil drilling. And for at least a third of California voters — maybe more — these issues are so ingrained that if a candidate is on the wrong side of them, he or she will not even be heard on the "important" issues.

Critics who want to demean these concerns call them "hot button issues." The analyst's hidden bias suggests these are irrational, intemperate and emotional matters that drive voters into hysterics.

Actually, these should more properly be called California's "cold shoulder issues:" If you're on the wrong side of them, that's what you get from the voters. They won't even listen to what you have to say on what everyone agrees are the salient, significant matters of governance.

That's how Dan Lungren got 32 percent of the vote.

And that's *half* of Bill Simon's problem heading into November.

Yes, Gray Davis is vulnerable on energy, the economy and education.

Energy because he inherited a dysfunctional system of deregulation that was unscrupulously leveraged by Enron et. al., because he didn't raise rates 400 percent when the utilities and Wall Street were demanding him to, and because he negotiated long-term contracts that looked great at the time but look too expensive now.

The economy because that's what happens to governors: They get credit for good times and blame for bad times.

Education because despite countless attempts to tell the story in the press, Davis still has not convinced Californians on a broad scale of what is true: that student performance has actually improved, that schools are better and teachers are better trained than they were when he took office.

And yes, the state budget's $15-17 billion shortfall is a huge problem for the governor — especially in light of the tendency of Republicans in the Legislature to use their minority veto to hold up any budget compromise.

But even if Simon can get past the cold shoulder issues — and it's not at all clear that he can, unless he comes up with $30-40 million to sink into TV ads that seek to change the subject — he's so far to the right of California voters on these important issues that his attempts to exploit the governor's vulnerabilities are likely to backfire.

Take energy. Simon opposes price caps and supports deregulation — the very combination of wrong-headed policies that created California's energy crisis in the first place. His position is shared by less than one-quarter of California's voters and just 32 percent of California Republicans, according to polling by the Public Policy Institute of California.

But that's not all. Simon's free-

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market solution on energy opens the discussion of other vital resources he'd like to privatize: like California's water supply and its roads and highways. Even Lungren didn't support selling off the state's water to the highest bidder.

His solution on the economy and state budget: Reduce workers' compensation benefits, workers' safety regulations and environmental laws that "impose undue regulations and red tape on businesses." Cut taxes and cut state spending. (In other words, reduce revenues and then have to cut programs even further.)

These are positions — once they're understood -- guaranteed to enrage teachers, laborers, nurses, police officers, the elderly and just about anyone else who earns a wage, has their kids in public schools or state colleges, uses state parks or drives on public roads.

Education? Aside from the fact that he's attracted to vouchers and wants to give a tax break to parents who "home-school" their children, Simon's big ideas include getting private companies to share in building new schools, decentralizing education, empowering local school districts and "providing before- and after-school programs to help those students who are falling behind and provide new and additional programs for students who are doing well."

(See "cut state spending" above.)

It's not as if Simon won't have allies: The Pro-Life Council, the Gun Owners of California, the California Republican Assembly and other organized conservative interest groups will surely work hard for him.

Rudy Giuliani and President Bush — both of whom are popular in California — will certainly try to help him frame the debate on issues that Simon would rather talk about.

Also on his side: Simon apparently has a great deal of money to spend, it looks as if he's able to stay on message and his golly-gee personality seems attractive to a lot of people he encounters on the campaign trail.

But Davis — despite his vulnerabilities — not only has enough money to frame the debate, he has legions of teachers and nurses, cops and firefighters, workers, women and environmentalists, all of whom have the ability to communicate with their forces independently. And their message will be this: On education, the economy, energy, environment, abortion and gun control, California is far better off today because of Gray Davis. And Bill Simon is untested and radically right-wing.

Which is why, in November, Davis will win a second term.

Philip J. Trounstine, the former political editor of the San Jose Mercury News *and former communications director for Gov. Gray Davis, is director of the Survey & Policy Research Institute at San Jose State University and a communications consultant who has done some work for the governor's re-election campaign.*

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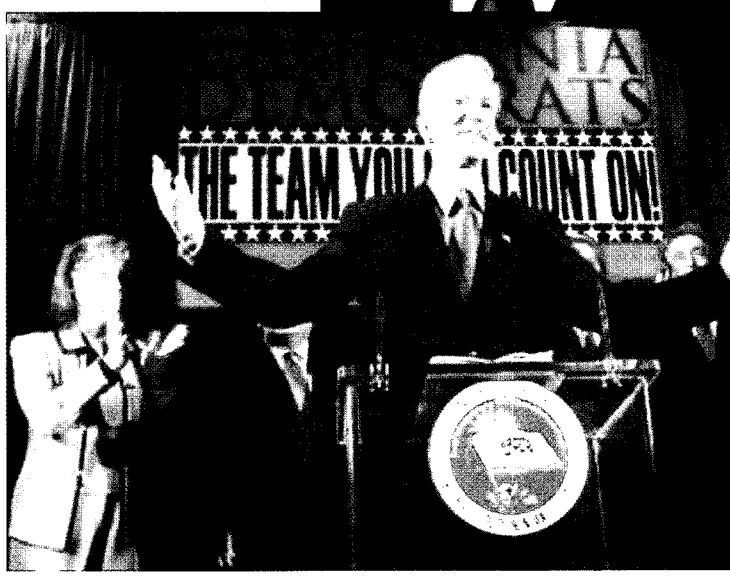
Governor

There isn't much doubt that this year's Republican primary for governor will become legend in California politics. It was an astonishing finish. Richard Riordan, backed by the White House and many of the state's elected Republicans, was once so far ahead of the pack that he ignored his opponents. Meanwhile, many thought the landslide winner, political neophyte Bill Simon, was so inexperienced and unknown that his campaign was merely a practice run for a more serious attempt later.

Less than two months before the election, Simon trailed Riordan by 37 points. He won by 18 points, a stunning 55-point reversal accomplished in just 54 days.

There has been much hindsight analysis as the dust cleared from the March 5 primary, most of it affirming some of the well-established rules about running for office in California. The conservative Simon appealed to the right, where most of the votes are in a primary that set a record for the lowest turnout ever in California — 33 percent. Lack of money, a fatal flaw in this mega-state, sunk the hopes of Secretary of State Bill Jones. And Riordan tried to rewrite the California rule book by reaching out to swing voters without making a direct appeal to the GOP base.



(Right) Bill Simon, the exuberant Republican primary winner. Photo by Adrees Latif, 3/5/02, Reuters News Service. (Below) Gray Davis reveling with fellow Democrats on election night.

But the legend of the 2002 primary also belongs to Governor Gray Davis, who reached into the Republican campaign and targeted the front-runner with a series of stinging television commercials attacking Riordan's credibility. Davis, who was unopposed in the Democratic primary, spent $10 million on advertising, nearly as much as all of the Republicans combined and more than he spent to win a highly competitive primary for governor in 1998.

Today, Riordan strategists say the "Davis attacks were the most potent and damaging" factor in the demise of their campaign. They single out one commercial in particular in which the pro-choice Riordan is seen on a 1991 videotape referring to abortion as "murder."

But not all those involved in the 2002 primary agree on the critical reasons behind the campaign's eleventh-hour upheaval.

Was Davis the master choreographer who cynically but shrewdly eliminated the moderate Riordan so he could run against the conservative Simon? Or was Riordan sunk because Republicans are primarily conservative voters who rejected the centrist politics and Democratic outreach of the former Los Angeles mayor?

Here are a couple of views from the two campaigns that will face each other in November.

Garry South, the chief tactician for Davis, disputes the governor's role as master choreographer. He said Davis was forced to broadcast television ads in the primary because Republican-sponsored commercials over the previous two years had sunk the governor's popularity ratings to a dangerous level.

Simon campaign manager Sal Russo said the Davis commercials had only a minor effect on Riordan. He said Riordan was rejected after Republican voters heard from key party leaders — such as former Governor George Deukmejian — that the former mayor gave endorsements and millions of dollars in contributions to Democratic candidates.

Garry South

Q: Can you respond to the analysis that your commercials were intended to eliminate Riordan so you could run against Simon?

South: People forget this, but in the summer of 2000, after the governor came out against the voucher initiative ... Tim Draper, the multimillionaire Silicon Valley, dot-com executive who qualified the [school] voucher initiative, decided he was going to run the whole campaign to pass the voucher initiative against Gray Davis. ... He spent about $10 to $15 milllion on media, much of it as attack spots on Gray Davis accusing him of being in the pocket of

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Bill Jones' campaign made good use of this Davis/Riordan photo at the Republican convention in February. Photo by Fred Pouncer 3/15/99, Reuters News Service

the teachers' union, accusing him of letting down the children of California. And we had to sit there and take it ... Then, in February of last year, right during the middle of the meltdown in the energy crisis, the Republicans ... just started to attack the governor. Part of that was a radio campaign that the California Republican Party put up, accusing the governor of being responsible for the energy crisis. We didn't respond to that. Then, in the summer of 2001, some of the Republican operatives in Washington ... had this phony front group for someone — and we suspect it was the [power] generators — start running attack ads on television against the governor accusing him of everything under the sun. ...Then, right after Christmas, just two or three months ago, the Republican State Central Committee went up with another flight of radio spots accusing the governor of raising taxes by referring to the quarter-cent sales tax mechanism that bumped back up after we didn't have a 4 percent reserve in this budget.

So you go back over the last year and a half and we've been subjected to, by our best guess, $15 to $20 million worth of media attacks, direct mail attacks and phone bank attacks that we simply could not respond to. And people wonder why our numbers are down? That's one of the major reasons. ...Frankly, we could tell last summer when we were focus grouping that the attacks that were put on the air by these political operatives in Washington... had started to soak in because people started parroting back to us in the focus groups the exact criticisms — as absurd as some of them were — that were contained in some of these spots. So we had no choice but to go on the air. ... Far from being a surprise move, this comes at the end of a year and a half where we had nothing but unmitigated sh-- thrown at us from all kinds of sources. ...And anybody who knows me, knows that I believe the best defense is a good offense. So that's why we did it. There was never any question we were going to go up on the air and have a full-bore media campaign in the primary no matter who was in it on the Republican side.

Q: What were your expectations about the ultimate effect of the attacks against Riordan?

South: We clearly didn't know in advance what would happen. Our primary goal was to ensure that Riordan didn't come flying out of the Republican primary with a big lead on us based on his decision to run his entire campaign on a non-ending attack against the governor. And frankly, if it affected his standing in the primary, so be it. But that was not our initial goal... There were differing views inside [our campaign] about whether this would have the effect of wounding him in the Republican primary to the point where he might lose it. Some of us thought it might and some of us thought it might not.

Bill Jones

Sal Russo

Q: Did Davis pick the candidate he wanted to run against in the general election?

Russo: I think that was their intent, to get the candidate they wanted. [But] Davis' ads were not very effective ... They had some effect, but it's not that. The effect they had is that Riordan responded [poorly]. We focus-grouped the Davis spots. Davis has no credibility with Republicans. So nobody believed them.

Primary results for governor

Charles "Chuck" Pineda, Jr. (D)	130,961	6%
Gray Davis (D)	**1,650,897**	**81%**
Anselmo A. Chavez (D)	168,556	8%
Mosemarie Boyd (D)	90,142	4%
Bill Jones (R)	358,743	17%
Danney Ball (R)	12,259	0.5%
Richard J. Riordan (R)	670,150	32%
Bill Simon (R)	**1,050,310**	**49%**
Nick Jesson (R)	17,778	1%
Jim Dimov (R)	5,196	0.2%
Edie Bukewihge (R)	13,356	0.6%
Reinhold S. Gulke (AI)	**24,705**	**100%**
Peter Miguel Camejo (G)	**33,548**	**100%**
Gary David Copeland (L)	**18,063**	**100%**
Iris Adam (NL)	**4,226**	**100%**

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Q: Did the Davis ads damage Riordan?

Russo: They got Riordan off message. He never gave anybody a reason to vote for him from that point on. He had been a good mayor, that was his TV [pitch]. But he never got to [broadcast ads about] what he was going to do for California's future... He was losing a few people from the Davis ads, but he was picking up others. There was some confusion. Some people, when they heard [Riordan oppose abortion in Davis' ads] thought he was pro-life. So it actually helped him a little bit. He was harvesting pro-lifers. ...George W. Bush and [Ronald] Reagan set the model for what you have to do to be successful in a Republican primary. You have to unify the base and you can't run against your base because then there is nothing there to hold you up.

Q: What changed in the race between Riordan and Simon?

Russo: On February 8, 9, 10, it all culminated. That was where... three former [Republican] Party chairmen and [former Governor George] Deukmejian said they wouldn't support him. We polled the night of the 10th and 11th and by the 17th, we saw him hemorrhaging. That's what did it, the lack of Republican credentials. I think once the critical mass occurred [February 9] at the state [Republican] Party convention, it reinforced the notion that this is somebody who [Republican voters] don't want to support.

Q: Did your campaign capitalize on the Davis ads?

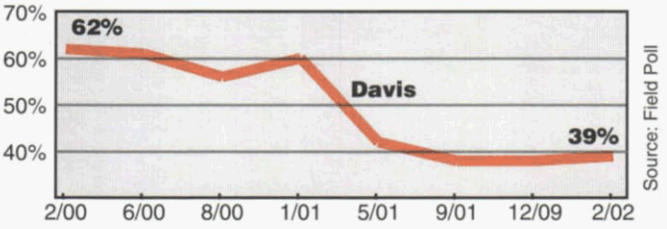
Russo: The ads didn't change our strategy at all. We used radio [ads] to get name ID up ... and [former New York Mayor Rudy] Giuliani to get attention. We knew from our own focus groups that if [voters] got to pay attention to Simon, they'd like him. ...When we focus-grouped the Giuliani [television] spots, it was an attention-getter. They wouldn't vote for Simon because of Giuliani. But they would listen to what he had to say. We did much better than we expected [with Giuliani's help]. We figured he would be a good attention-getter, but we picked up 15 or 20 points.

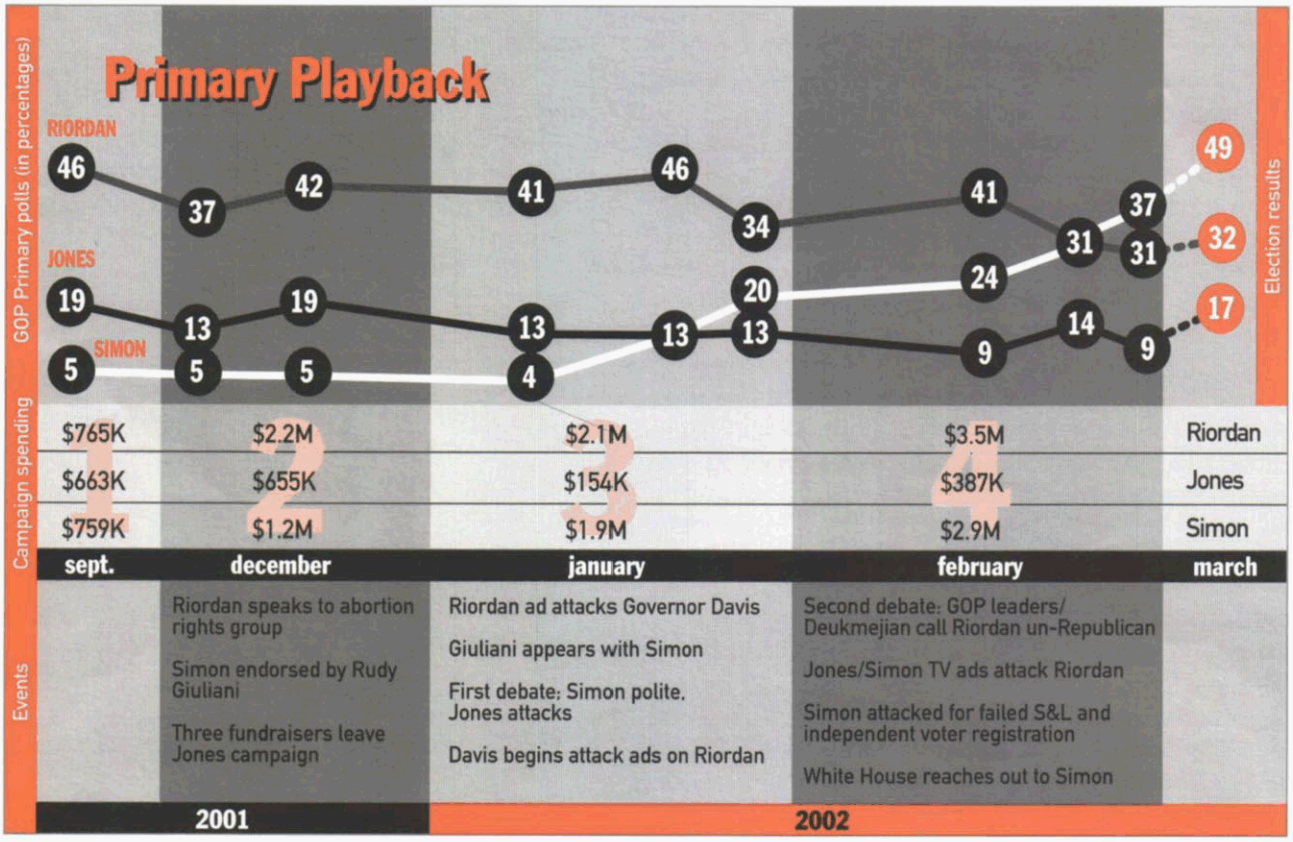
Q: Would Simon have won without the Davis ads attacking Riordan?

Russo: People vote for the future, not the past. [Riordan's] advertising was focused on what he had done. We started at the very beginning talking about our plans. ...Like I said, I don't think the Davis ads were that effective.

— David Lesher

Poll approval ratings for Gray Davis from Feb. 2000 to Jan. 2002





Polling sources: Field Poll, Public Policy Institute of California and the *Los Angeles Times*. Campaign spending is the expenditures each candidate made during the four financial report periods prior to the primary. The reporting periods shown above ended 9/30/01, 12/31/01, 1/19/02 and 2/16/02 respectively.

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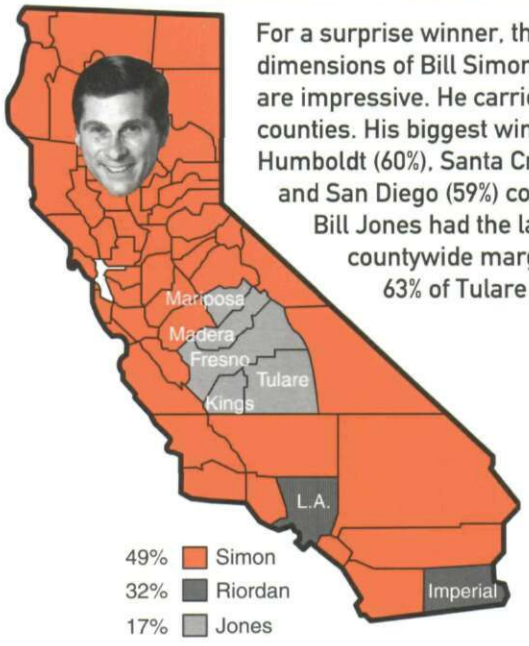
ELECTION 2002

2002 Primary at a glance

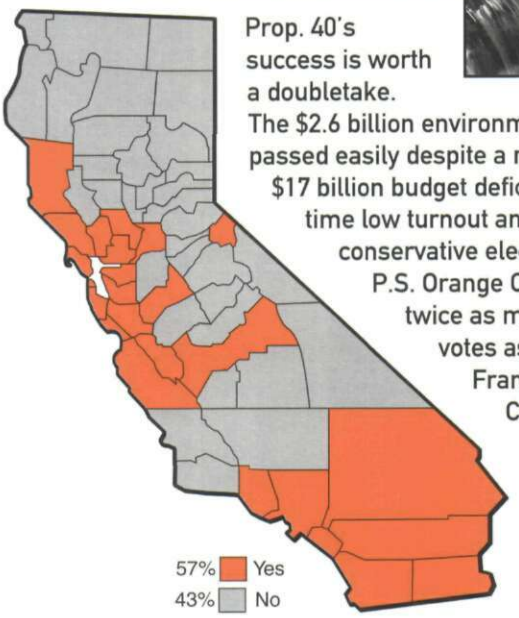
Let's take a few knocks at the conventional wisdom about the low 33% voter turnout in the March primary. Voters showed up in rural counties. It was the urban voter who stayed home. And take note: The most reliable voters are conservative enough to pick Bill Simon but also green enough to pass a major environmental bond. Finally, odds are that voters will be back in November.

SIMONIZING THE GOLDEN STATE



For a surprise winner, the dimensions of Bill Simon's victory are impressive. He carried 51 of 58 counties. His biggest wins were Humboldt (60%), Santa Cruz (59%) and San Diego (59%) counties. Bill Jones had the largest countywide margin with 63% of Tulare County.

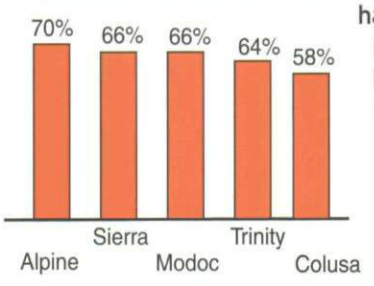
PROP. 40 'S GREEN POLITICS



Prop. 40's success is worth a doubletake. The $2.6 billion environmental bond passed easily despite a recession, a $17 billion budget deficit, an all-time low turnout and a conservative electorate. P.S. Orange County cast twice as many "yes" votes as San Francisco County.

COUNTIES WITH THE HIGHEST TURNOUT

In general, rural voters participated in the primary at much higher rates than urban voters. Los Angeles County cast just more than 1 million ballots and reported the lowest turnout in the state. On the other hand, total ballots cast in all five counties at left was 14,632.

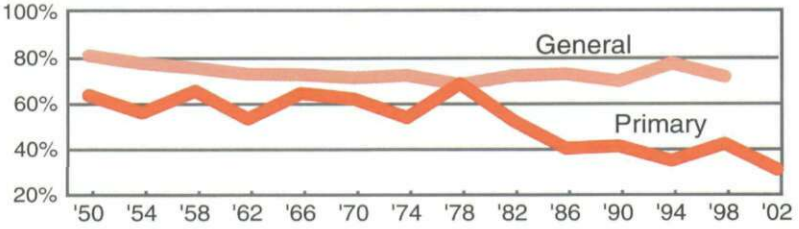


VOTER TURNOUT IN THE LARGEST COUNTIES

County	Registered Voters	Turnout
Los Angeles	4,140,740	25%
San Diego	1,362,861	33%
Orange	1,286,638	37%
Santa Clara	733,086	30%
Alameda	677,667	34%
San Bernardino	621,144	29%
Riverside	617,690	27%
Sacramento	598,272	38%
Contra Costa	478,754	39%

GOVERNOR'S RACE TURNOUT SINCE 1950

Take a look at 50 years of participation rates in California's gubernatorial elections and there are clearly two distinct trends. Voters are losing interest in their party primaries, but they still appear to care about who wins office in November.



Source: California Secretary of State

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Echoes of the past

Is the 2002 campaign for governor a rerun?

By Lou Cannon

The campaign manager told the Democratic governor it was risky to meddle in the Republican primary. But a political consultant who was not risk averse warned the governor that he faced defeat if Republicans nominated a moderate former mayor. The consultant offered to discredit the moderate and help a novice conservative win the GOP primary. The governor agreed.

This happened in February 1966. The governor was Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, and the Republican moderate was George Christopher, a former mayor of San Francisco. The conservative was Ronald Reagan, an actor and one-time Democrat who in 1964 had become an overnight conservative hero with a splashy, nationally televised speech for Barry Goldwater, the Republican presidential nominee. Goldwater lost in a landslide, however, and polls showed that Reagan also would lose to Brown. The polls were wrong. After disposing of Christopher in the primary, Reagan beat Brown by a million votes.

Thirty-six years later, wistful Republicans are hoping that Bill Simon can stage a historical replay. Simon ran a smart campaign and his principal rival Richard Riordan, ran a dreadful one, but the big player in the GOP primary was Democratic Governor Gray Davis, who spent $10 million on television ads aimed at destroying Riordan, a moderate former mayor of Los Angeles. Beware of what you wish for, say Simon's managers, who have cast Simon in the role of Reagan. Democratic strategists and various commentators have dismissed this as wishful thinking. Some of them compare Simon to Dan Lungren, who Davis demolished in 1998 (with help from Lungren) by depicting him as an extremist.

So, which is it? Is Simon a Lungren rerun, or can he emulate Reagan and win the governorship? Using the traditional definition of analogy — a comparison in which the similarities outweigh the differences — both sides can make a case.

First, the similarities. Brown's operatives impugned Christopher, a dairy owner, by planting stories about ancient (and largely trivial) violations of milk-pricing laws. This had the unintended consequence of uniting Republicans, who were then, as now, divided along ideological lines. Christopher told me he lacked enthusiasm for Reagan but supported him, and he urged other moderates

Pat Brown on the campaign trail in the 1960s. Bancroft Library photo.

to do likewise because he resented Brown's attack. The Davis campaign may have been similarly unifying. Riordan, who harshly attacked Simon during the primary campaign, congratulated him after it was over and promised to help him defeat Davis. Another similarity is that Davis, like Brown did then, has low approval ratings. Brown, despite towering achievements, was seen as indecisive in dealing with urban riots and campus disorders. Davis, with more modest accomplishments, suffers from a perception that he was slow on the switch in dealing with the energy crisis. And also like Brown, Davis is burdened by an unbalanced budget and a skeptical Legislature. Brown's fiscal solution in 1966 was an accounting gimmick to delay new taxes; in the post-Enron climate Davis will have to do better than that.

There are similarities between the Republicans as well. Simon, while not Reagan's equal as a charmer, comes across as friendly and sincere. Like Reagan, he clings to core ideas and preaches limited government and low taxes. On the downside, Simon resembles Reagan in his ignorance of government, although Reagan worked hard to fill his knowledge gaps. Will Simon? Voters are often charitable to candidates who try, and Reagan didn't suffer from

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his inexperience. "The other guy has the experience," Reagan said cheerfully. "That's why I'm running."

But there are monumental differences between the 1966 and 2002 campaigns. For starters, Brown's involvement in the GOP primary was surreptitious — his operatives leaked anti-Christopher material to columnist Drew Pearson. When reporters traced this to Brown, it damaged his reputation as a straight shooter. Davis' anti-Riordan commercials were savage — and an ad claiming that crime had increased in Riordan's years as mayor demonstrably false—but the governor and his strategists operated openly. They announced they would stop Riordan because they feared him in the general election, and they did.

Another and more crucial difference is that Reagan was far better known than Simon is today and, therefore, more difficult to demonize. In 1966, anyone over 25 remembered Reagan as a handsome movie star who had

Ronald Reagan being sworn in as governor of California, 1967. Bancroft Library photo.

usually played, in the words of Garry Wills, "the heartwarming role" of himself. And Reagan stayed in the public eye after his film career as host of *General Electric Theater*, a top-rated television program. Brown alternately portrayed Reagan as a right-wing extremist and a lightweight actor who had been upstaged by a chimpanzee in the 1951 movie *Bedtime for Bonzo*, but neither approach impressed voters. Reagan, unlike Goldwater, wasn't scary, and most Californians had a higher opinion of Hollywood — and Reagan's movies — than Brown realized.

Davis has signaled he will try to define Simon as "an untested businessman who happens to be anti-choice, pro-gun, pro-deregulation and pro-voucher." The governor has the money ($28 million) and a campaign strategist (Garry South) with the skills to do this. This, too, is a difference. Brown's 1966 campaign lacked discipline, with authority divided between an old friend of the governor and the campaign manager. Don't expect that from Davis and South.

Simon will try to make the incumbent the issue, as Reagan did with Brown (and later President Jimmy Carter). He might do well to imitate Reagan, who extolled conservatives to try the "soft sell" and throughout the 1966 campaign described himself as a "citizen-politician." A ray of hope for Republicans is that Simon appears to have learned a lesson from Lungren's demise and goes out of his way to avoid discussion of social issues, especially abortion. Simon campaign consultant Sal Russo, a 19-year-old advance man for Reagan in 1966, says his focus groups show that Davis lacks credibility. But will voters accept a Republican who has rarely voted and is trying to start his political career at the top? On the face of it, Simon doesn't have a story to tell equivalent to Reagan — a success in radio, movies, and television who was active in politics long before his speech for Goldwater. The biggest plus for Simon, the son of a famous father, is that he served under then-U.S. attorney Rudolph Guliani, now an American icon.

While Simon may not be a Reagan, Davis even less resembles the personable Pat Brown, one of California's most visionary governors. Even when Brown was on the ropes politically, he was still beloved by many Democrats. Davis does not evoke similar emotions.

Today's political landscape is similar in some respects and different in others from the one inhabited by Brown and Reagan. Now, there are 21.5 million registered voters, three times more than in 1966. Democrats then had a much greater registration margin over Republicans than they do today —17 percent compared to 9 percent — but significant numbers of conservative Democrats often voted for Republican candidates. In 1966, there were few registered independents ("decline to state"). Today, independents are nearly 15 percent of the electorate and hold the balance of power. Latinos, then called "Mexican-Americans" or "Hispanics," were a tiny fraction of the electorate, but Reagan competed for their votes and won at least a third of them, as he would later do in presidential campaigns. Simon probably needs to make heavy inroads among Latinos to win.

On balance, there are more differences between 1966 and 2002 than similarities, and Davis vs. Simon fails to qualify as a rerun of Brown vs. Reagan. The Reagan analogy is understandably appealing to victory-starved Republicans, but the candidates and the situation are different. Reagan is not clonable. If Simon is to win in November, he will have to do it on his own.

Lou Cannon, a California Journal *contributing editor, was state capitol correspondent for the* San Jose Mercury-News *in 1966. He has written four biographies of Ronald Reagan.*

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Republican cause

Soap Box is an occasional feature to showcase some of the most intriguing California leaders in their own words. In this issue, the Journal *invited Bill Jones, California secretary of state and and a Republican candidate for governor in the March primary, to share some thoughts about his campaign and other issues.*

By Bill Jones, Secretary of State

It has been nearly one year since I made public my decision to run for governor of California. When I announced my intention last March, I did so for one reason: to replace Gray Davis with a leader who has the experience and vision to turn California towards better, more prosperous times. We need to replace Gray Davis with an individual who wants to govern California, not just be governor of California.

Gray Davis is a perpetual candidate who has been running for higher office his whole professional career, ignoring policy matters, issues and needs of long-term importance to Californians. I chose a different path.

As California's secretary of state, my highest priorities have been to clean the voter rolls, improve participation for those who have historically been underrepresented in the electoral process, and be a leader for campaign finance reform by making the Internet a valuable tool for tracking campaign contributions, allowing voters to make informed decisions by viewing special-interest donations. My focus was on reform, and providing the people of California with an Elections Office that was top-notch and above reproach.

As a public servant for more than 20 years, the people of California have always been my first priority. Governor Davis' obsession with fund raising and building his political war chest has made it so that almost any candidate who wants to stand a legitimate chance against him this November, must be willing to spend millions of his or her own personal fortune to be competitive.

After my experience with this election, I do believe we must level the playing field so that all candidates running for political office have an equal chance, and that lesser-funded, but equally talented and knowledgeable candidates are not discouraged from seeking office.

While I continue to vigorously oppose public financing of campaigns, I do believe that if significant changes are not made, public cynicism towards campaigns and elected officials will only grow. The Internet is one tool I believe all candidates can use to effectively communicate their message and reach out to all voters. It will probably require legislation to make this a reality. I also think we need to look at giving equal television and radio time to candidates who prove to be legitimate contenders.

Although I may no longer be in the race to replace Gray Davis, the goal to defeat him in November remains my top priority. To that end, I have agreed to be one of Bill Simon's campaign co-chairs. Unlike Davis, Bill Simon has a plan and a vision for California. He knows where he wants to lead California, and he will lead us from this mess that Gray Davis has gotten us into. I fully support Simon in his bid to unseat Davis, and I believe he can do so. The issues that made Gray Davis vulnerable in the first place are still issues today. The governor still has no long-term plan to solve California's future energy needs, he has no plan to address our infrastructure needs and he has yet to show us how he plans to solve California's budget woes. Bill Simon has the plans and I believe the people of California will unite behind him to replace Gray Davis.

As my tenure as secretary of state comes to a close next January, Californians can be confident in the knowledge that in the time I have remaining I will be outspoken and continue to clearly define the differences between Republican solutions and Democrat failures, and the differences between Bill Simon and Gray Davis. Davis has put the future of our children and grandchildren at risk, leaving them not with our state's golden promise, but with an enormous debt and an abysmal school system.

It has been my honor to serve California for more than two decades. Next January I will leave Sacramento to spend time with my family on the ranch in Fresno. I am a third-generation California farmer and rancher, and it has been a great life for me, teaching me the values and respect for hard-working people, the land, the air and water. I have spent almost half my life serving the state of California and rest assured I will continue to do all that I can to ensure that California regains its golden reputation and promise for our future generations.

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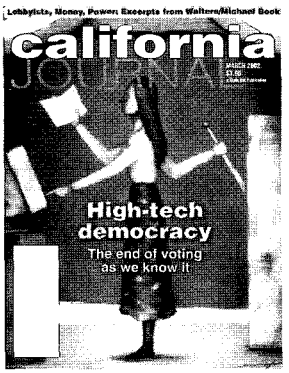

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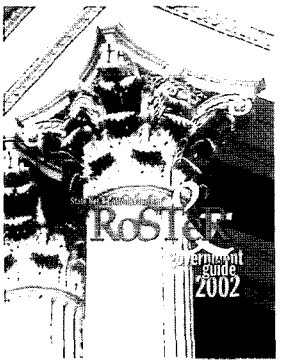
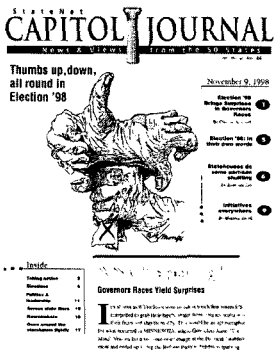
California Roster & Government Guide



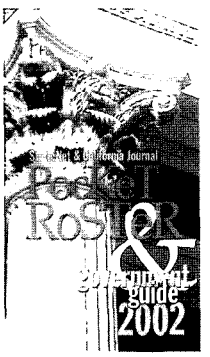
This 8½x11" Roster contains the name, address, telephone number, top staff and district offices of every member of the Assembly, state Senate, and Congress plus constitutional officers and state departments. Includes 195 photos, legislative process chart, and committee memberships. *Annual, 40 pages, $3.50. Bulk discounts available.*

State Net Capitol Journal



Capitol Journal is *the* publication about political life in the 50 states. Reported and written by the editors of the *California Journal*, it has the feel of a newsletter but the impact of a magazine. The weekly includes an overview of activity in all 50 states and provides hard hitting analysis of key issues and hot election races. The daily focuses on California by providing legislative floor session schedules, committee hearings, Capitol rallies, news conferences, client registrations among the lobbying corps and more. No one whose livelihood depends on events in the Capitol can be without this detailed, informative, and insightful publication. *Daily & weekly. FAX, Web or E-mail delivery. $480.*

California Pocket Roster

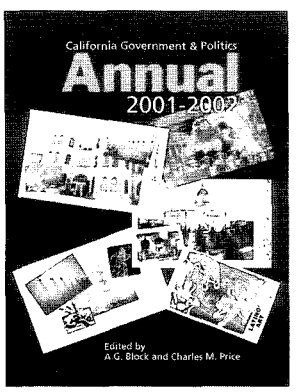


This handy, pocket-sized roster contains names, addresses, telephone numbers, top staff and district offices of every member of the Assembly, state Senate, and our members of Congress plus biographical information, district descriptions, committees, offices of the legislature, and much more. *Annual, 144 pages, $9.95. Bulk discounts available.*

California State Government Directory

Loose-leaf with quarterly updates. Names, photographs, bios, district descriptions, addresses, phones, party affiliations, committees and staff for the Legislature. State departments, boards and commissions and their top staff. Indexed with more than 2,600 listings. *Quarterly, 170 pages, $125.*

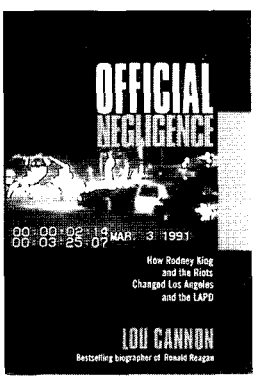
California Government and Politics Annual



Includes a brief overview and reprints of *California Journal* articles covering the three branches of government, politics and elections, lobbying, finance, local government, direct democracy, and other issues. *8½x11", 96 pages. $8.95.*

Official Negligence

How the Rodney King Riots Changed Los Angeles and the LAPD



The Rodney King beating, the trial and its terrible aftermath form the core of this exhaustive study by longtime Washington Post reporter and columnist. *Hard cover, Random House, 698 pages, $15.95. paper.*

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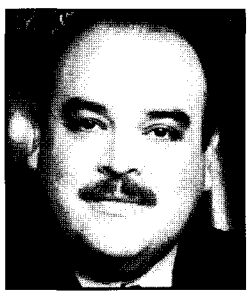
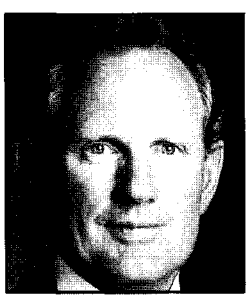
Lieutenant Governor

Bustamante (D)*	**1,755,011**	**100%**
McPherson (R)	**1,647,658**	**86%**
Michaels (R)	264,897	14%
King (AI)	**23,105**	**100%**
Warren (G)	**32,651**	**100%**
Wright (L)	**16,867**	**100%**
Przybylak (NL)	**3,855**	**100%**
Hannosh (R)	**6,675**	**100%**


Bustamante


McPherson

Competitive isn't exactly the word to describe the Republican primary for lieutenant governor. With little money at her disposal to campaign statewide, singer/song-writer Ellie Michaels stood little chance of denying the GOP nomination to state Sen. Bruce McPherson of Santa Cruz. McPherson's toughest task during the months leading up to the election was coming to grips with the death of his son, Hunter, who was killed in San Francisco last December while being mugged.

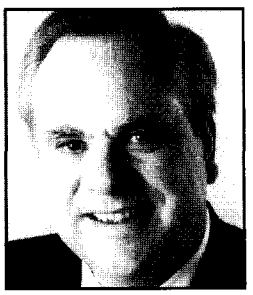
With the nomination never in doubt, McPherson was able to sit on most of his money. He reportedly has $400,000 to start with for the November general election and hopes to eventually raise $4 million total. Democrat Cruz Bustamante, the incumbent lieutenant governor, already has a war chest that stands at $1.6 million and counting. The first-term incumbent was the state's leading vote-getter in the March primary, pulling in more votes than any other candidate for statewide office. McPherson, a moderate Republican who is unknown in most of the state, faces an uphill task in unseating California's highest-ranking Latino officeholder.

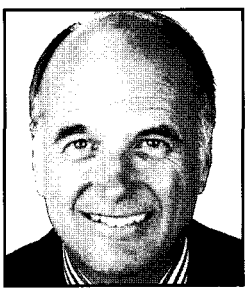
— Noel Brinkerhoff

Attorney General

Lockyer (D)*	**1,546,153**	**83%**
Schmier (D)	324,790	17%
Ackerman (R)	**1,653,871**	**100%**
Templin (AI)	**24,789**	**100%**
Mowrer (G)	**32,124**	**100%**
Kuwatch (L)	**17,413**	**100%**

While all but one of the state's 58 counties went to incumbent Bill Lockyer for the Democratic nomination, Michael Schmier's low-budget crusade to make California's legal system more accessible and affordable apparently struck a chord down in the far corner of the state. There, the Democratic challenger won the Imperial County vote overwhelmingly, 87 percent to 13 percent. All he needed was another million votes from somewhere else to make it a race.


Lockyer


Ackerman

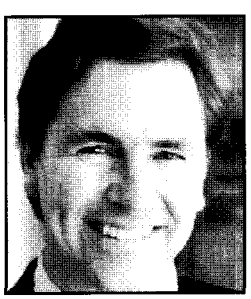
Meanwhile, Republican state Sen. Dick Ackerman went unopposed in his primary, allowing him to squirrel away his resources — all $40,000 of them — for the general election. Lockyer, who did little more than file re-election papers to win his party's nomination, currently has $5 million in the bank. Ackerman has his work cut out for him, to say the least.

— Noel Brinkerhoff

Secretary of State

Alioto (D)	558,079	28%
Eu (D)	571,099	29%
O'Brien (D)	75,384	4%
Henley (D)	106,150	5%
Shelley (D)	**664,826**	**34%**
Schaefer (R)	370,537	21%
Olberg (R)	**1,102,032**	**62%**
Marr (R)	309,277	17%
Noonan (AI)	**24,426**	**100%**
Shoup (G)	**32,295**	**100%**
Lightfoot (L)	**17,850**	**100%**
Allison (NL)	**4,468**	**100%**
Sharpe-Geisler (RF)	**6,502**	**100%**

With just a week to go before Election Day, polls showed San Francisco Assm. Kevin Shelley with a mere 6 percent of likely voters behind his bid to become the Democratic nominee for secretary of state. In that poll, Shelley appeared far behind March Fong Eu, who had 35 percent of prospective voters behind her.


Shelley

Eu, who raised far less money than Shelley and opted for radio commercials over TV to promote her candidacy, coasted along on residual name recognition from her two decades

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as secretary of state that ended in 1994. But while the 79-year-old Eu got a boost from voters' recollection of her, she raised little money except for the more than $300,000 of her own she used to infuse her campaign. Shelley, on the other hand, pocketed more than $3 million from labor, business and political sources on his way to the primary victory. With that, he took to the air waves, making the case for himself as the best choice for ridding the state of hanging chads. That effort ultimately pushed him past both Eu and Michela Alioto, who also ran ahead of Shelley in the pre-election polls. Alioto saw her second try for secretary of state come to naught after largely self-financing her campaign with more than $400,000 and picking up some key newspaper endorsements.

Alioto

Eu

Olberg

Shelley ultimately surged ahead by taking the lead in his Bay Area home base, as well as Southern California and the southern half of the Central Valley. Despite the heavily contested race between the three leading Democrats, they remained mostly civil toward each other throughout the campaign, each touting the need to dump punch-card voting machines.

Republican victor Keith Olberg, a former assemblyman, had little significant opposition in the primary, allowing him to conserve his energy for the bigger battle ahead in November.

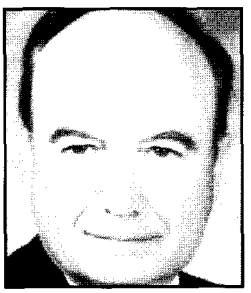
— Kathleen Les

Treasurer

Phil Angelides (D)*	**1,707.879**	**100%**
Greg Conlon (R)	**910,760**	**51%**
Mary A. Toman (R)	861,531	49%
Nathan E. Johnson (AI)	**23,642**	**100%**
Jeanne-Marie Rosenmeier (G)	**32,151**	**100%**
Marian Smithson (L)	**17,533**	**100%**
Sylvia Valentine (NL)	**4,012**	**100%**

Incumbent Democrat Phil Angelides, unopposed in the primary, had the luxury of sitting back while two lesser known Republicans vied for their party nomination. Republican Mary Toman waged her battle with a little over $100,000 of her own money, while her rival, Greg Conlon, pulled in close to $250,000, nearly half of which came from his own pocket.

Angelides


Conlon

Toman's credentials include a stint in the U.S. Dept. of Commerce under former President George Bush and an assignment as California deputy treasurer under Matt Fong. She tried to raise her statewide profile with participation on slate mailers, but the bid ultimately failed and she lost to Conlon, a former Public Utilities Commission president and former senior partner with Arthur Andersen. Conlon raised his profile with voters by buying space on a half dozen slate mailers and using an automated phone service to reach 450,000 households.

Toman's bid was intended to offer an alternative to Conlon, who some Republican insiders feared was tainted by his association with the PUC and its role in the energy crisis, as well as his years with the accounting firm closely aligned with the now-bankrupt Enron Corp. Conlon will have an uphill fight against Angelides, whose fund-raising prowess has already reeled in nearly $5 million to help him secure a second term.

— Kathleen Les

Controller

Klehs (D)	793,451	43%
Westly (D)	**1,033,378**	**57%**
Andal (R)	658,832	35%
Beecham (R)	177,334	10%
Hume (R)	175,771	9%
McClintock (R)	**853,852**	**46%**
Vance (AI)	**23,486**	**100%**
Blanco (G)	5,054	16%
Wells (G)	**26,810**	**84%**
Aguirre (NL)	**4,170**	**100%**

Republican Dean Andal and Democrat Johan Klehs both hoped to make the jump from their seats on the state Board of Equalization to statewide office. Neither triumphed despite considerable financial resources and backing from members of their respective parties. In Klehs' case, he garnered the support of Gov. Gray Davis, coupled with handsome donations and endorsements from labor. Andal benefitted from backing by former governors Pete Wilson

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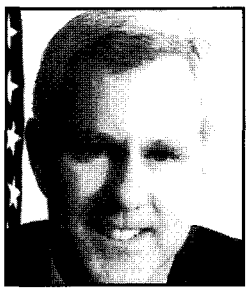
and George Deukmejian, the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Assn. and $750,000 stashed away from an aborted Senate run. From the get-go, both lagged in the polls and never picked up the momentum to surge ahead in their respective races.

Democrat Steve Westly spent over $3 million — half of which came from his own personal fortune parlayed as an executive with eBay — to introduce himself to voters and brush aside accusations from the Klehs camp that his government experience was too limited to qualify him for the job of controller. Even before his media blitz, polls showed him in the lead — something his campaign attributes to his ballot designation as "businessman/educator." It also helped that he landed the majority of newspaper and Democratic club endorsements and used his high-tech savvy to launch an e-mail campaign among state voters on the Internet.

On the Republican side, state Sen. Tom McClintock left no corner unturned in his winning campaign to defeat Andal. Insiders expected Andal to have the full force of the party machinery behind him to execute a win. But it was McClintock who worked nonstop, raising nearly $600,000, collecting endorsements from a wide spectrum of Republican groups and making selected TV buys in just three media markets — Sacramento, San Diego and Fresno — to edge out an 11-point victory. McClintock dominated in every county except a handful in the northern half of the Central Valley and the Sierra foothills. Both candidates appealed to the conservative tilt of primary voters, but it was the McClintock campaign, in his second try for the controller's office, that won over the majority.

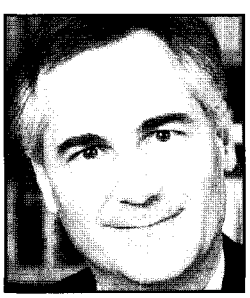
—Kathleen Les



Klehs

Westly

Andal

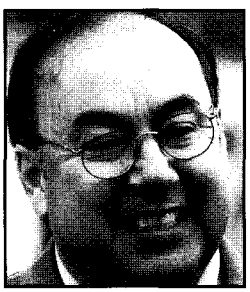


McClintock

Insurance Commissioner

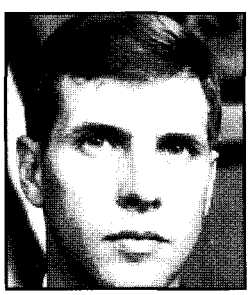
Calderon (D)	436,188	23%
Garamendi (D)	**723,438**	**39%**
Umberg (D)	529,625	28%
Winslow (D)	193,975	10%
Bannister (R)	383,005	22%
Mendoza (R)	**725,538**	**42%**
Stitch (R)	634,268	36%
Klein (AI)	**24,846**	**100%**
Sheidlower (G)	**31,671**	**100%**
Ogden (L)	**17,532**	**100%**
Calderon (NL)	**4,722**	**100%**

Call it the Quackenbush Quotient: Take the number of insurance industry dollars a candidate receives and divide it by the number of votes they get. The result? A third place finish. That's what happened to Democratic Assem. Tom Calderon of Montebello. Calderon's strategy was to rake in as much money as he could from insurance companies ($1.5 million) in order to finance commercials for his campaign and then tell voters he wouldn't be a pawn of the industry. Voters, however, clearly didn't buy it, not after watching the last insurance commissioner, Charles Quackenbush, accept millions from insurers and later resign amid scandal.



Calderon

Garamendi



Umberg

Calderon's Democratic rivals hammered him steadily for his insurance industry contributions while refraining from taking any themselves. John Garamendi, the state's first insurance commissioner from 1990-94, used this strategy effectively to capture the Democratic nomination. That, coupled with solid name identification from having earlier held the office, allowed him to win the Bay Area, almost all of the Central Valley and Northern California, plus Riverside and San Bernardino counties. Garamendi's previous stint as commissioner came under attack by Calderon for the seizure and sale of Executive Life, an insurance company that collapsed in the early 1990s after investing heavily in junk bonds. But Calderon's attacks failed to hurt Garamendi.

Garamendi's closest challenger proved to be Tom Umberg, a former state assemblyman from Orange County. Umberg, like Garamendi, had to borrow heavily to finance

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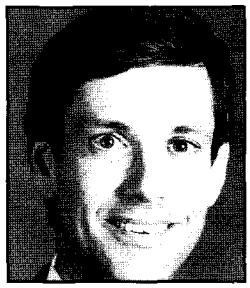
his campaign, one that played up Umberg's service as a colonel in the Army Reserve to capitalize on the post-Sept. 11 patriotic fervor. The plan didn't work. Umberg managed to win only a handful of counties, including Orange and San Diego. This was slightly better than Calderon, whose only significant victory came in Los Angeles County.

The Republican primary proved much quieter and uneventful. None of the three contenders raised enough money to hit the airwaves, so instead it became a battle for political and media endorsements. Attorney Gary Mendoza, former director of the state Dept. of Corporations under Republican Gov. Pete Wilson, and one-time Los Angeles deputy mayor under Richard Riordan, showed signs of pulling away from his three rivals when late contributions began pouring into his campaign in the closing days of the contest. Altogether, he took in nearly $90,000 in late money after raising only approximately $70,000 from January to mid-February. Stefan "Watchdog" Stitch, who officially changed his middle name so it would appear on the ballot, polled five points behind Mendoza. Insurance broker Wes Bannister, who lost to Garamendi in 1990 and the GOP nomination to Quackenbush in 1994, once again had trouble raising money for his campaign. He finished a distant third.

— Noel Brinkerhoff

dates, as demonstrated by polls leading up to Election Day. O'Connell, who raised far more money than his opponents, spent more than $3 million on TV ads. Still, he registered only 18 percent in voter support a week before the primary. O'Connell scooped up endorsements from an array of education and labor interests and pulled in money from every corner of the business, political and labor arenas. That paid off with a majority of votes in all but a few isolated counties in the far reaches of the state. But in the end, it still wasn't enough to push him over the 50 percent hump needed to win the election outright. So now the race begins anew with a November runoff.

— Kathleen Les



O'Connell

Smith

Superintendent of Public Instruction

Jack O'Connell	**1,583,304**	**42%**
Lynne C. Leach	989,669	26%
Katherine H. Smith	**1,069,812**	**28%**
Joe Taylor	145,486	4%

Sometimes just the right ballot designation is worth a million bucks — or at least a million votes. That appears to be what propelled Katherine Smith into the second-place position for superintendent of public instruction: Her ballot ID as a board member with the Anaheim Union High School Board held more sway with voters than those of her contenders, two of whom were listed as legislators and one as a political consultant. It also helped that she was from vote-rich Orange County, home to the large number of conservative voters who showed up for the primary. It was expected that GOP Assm. Lynne Leach would reach the November runoff in this officially nonpartisan race. Instead, Democratic state Sen. Jack O'Connell will face Smith in November.

Though education remains high on voters' list of concerns, they were largely unfamiliar with all the candi-

Board of Equalization

DISTRICT 1 (50% D - 27% R - 17% DS)

Migden (D)	**570,793**	**100%**
Bendick (R)	**197,120**	**56%**
Woods (R)	153,983	44%
Brierly (L)	**5,939**	**10%**

Termed-out Assm. Carole Migden finds a home. Is the state Senate next?

DISTRICT 2 (41% D - 43% R - 12% DS)

Angelo (D)	192,751	45%
Santos (D)	**232,932**	**55%**
Leonard (R)	**357,235**	**60%**
Costa (R)	238,449	40%

Assm. Bill Leonard finds a home after being termed out of both the Senate and Assembly.

DISTRICT 3 (35% D - 45% R - 15% DS)

Christian-Heising (D)	**290,579**	**100%**
Petruzzo (R)	150,329	28%
Parrish (R*)	**337,742**	**64%**
Baker (R)	41,126	8%
Graham (L)	**5,327**	**100%**

DISTRICT 4 (55% D - 46% R - 15% DS)

Chiang (D*)	**382,614**	**100%**
Forsch (R)	**214,952**	**100%**
Weissman (L)	**2,704**	**100%**

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California Journal's district-by-district analysis

The 2002 primary election was all about the three-way brawl for governor at the top of the Republican ticket. That race generated the swirl in this election and affected results in those few congressional and legislative districts with a meaningful primary contest.

As exit polls from the *Los Angeles Times* confirmed, the midterm primary, with its historically low turnout, brought conservative Republicans into the voting booth (57% of the Republicans who voted in the primary considered themselves conservatives, as opposed to 38% who described themselves as liberal/moderate). That dynamic played havoc with the ambitions of moderate GOP candidates, mostly for the Legislature, nearly all of whom lost when confronted with a conservative opponent.

On the Democratic side, moderates — so-called "new Democrats" — also suffered at the hands of liberals, who voted in greater numbers than did moderates. As a result, the political middle, which by all accounts represents the view of a majority of California voters, is fast disappearing from the Capitol. The Legislature that convenes in December will feature a more conservative Republican caucus and a more liberal Democratic one, a circumstance that further detaches Sacramento politicians from the real-world concerns of their constituents.

On another note, the 2002 primary dispelled the notion that the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, would produce a "kinder and gentler" brand of politics. Judging by the tenor of campaigns in heavily contested primaries, Sept 11 failed to elevate debate. Of particular note were races in Assembly districts 10, 13, 19, 29, 36, 40 and 64, and in Senate District 36.

KEY

Parties
D = Democrat
R = Republican
AI = American Independent
G = Green
L = Libertarian
NL = Natural Law
PF = Peace & Freedom
RF = Reform

Other
* = incumbent

Winners of each party's primary are listed in **boldface**. Some vote totals, and some results may change due to absentee and provisional ballots that remained uncounted as of press time.

Readers will note two columns of numbers next to each candidate's name. The first column is that candidate's raw vote total. The second column is the percentage of the vote that candidate received in his or her party primary. Percentage numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number and, as a result, some district totals may add up to slightly more or less than 100 percent.

Voter registration numbers provided by the Secretary of State's Office as of February 2002.

Congress

DISTRICT 1 (46% D - 31% R - 15% DS)		
Thompson (D*)	**59,788**	**100**
Wiesner (R)	**39,307**	**100**
Bastian (L)	**680**	**100**

DISTRICT 2 (36% D - 45% R - 13% DS)		
Hennemann (D)	15,184	39
Johnson (D)	**23,831**	**61**
Thompson (R)	6,121	8
Herger (R*)	**64,924**	**89**
Todd (R)	2,204	3
Martin (L)	**651**	**100**
Thiessen (NL)	**88**	**100**

DISTRICT 3 (38% D - 44% R - 13% DS)		
Beeman (D)	**38,730**	**100**
Ose (R*)	**62,268**	**100**
Tuma (L)	**507**	**100**

DISTRICT 4 (33% D - 48% R - 14% DS)		
Norberg (D)	**41,266**	**100**
Kirby (R)	20,625	23
Doolittle (R*)	**70,386**	**77**
Roberts (L)	**662**	**100**

Once again, moderate Foothill Republicans undertook a crusade to rid themselves of conservative incumbent John Doolittle. And once again, their tattered army was mooshed. A spirited effort by Auburn physician Bill Kirby gained support from the Sierra Club, which advised members to register Republican or decline-to-state to vote in this primary. Kirby also was helped by independent expenditures from the likes of Taxpayers for Better Government. But Doolittle had the more potent help; namely, the same conservative tide that brought down GOP moderates elsewhere in the state.

DISTRICT 5 (54% D - 26% R - 14% DS)		
Matsui (D*)	**44,628**	**100**
Frankhuizen (R)	**21,845**	**100**
Roloff (L)	**257**	**100**

DISTRICT 6 (51% D - 28% R - 15% DS)		
Woolsey (D*)	**59,877**	**81**
Martini (D)	14,488	19
Erickson (R)	**35,201**	**100**
Barton (L)	**613**	**100**
Rainforth (RF)	**262**	**100**

Despite his local popularity, Santa Rosa Mayor Mike Martini didn't force incumbent Lynn Woolsey to sweat.

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DISTRICT 7 (57% D - 24% R - 12% DS)

Miller (D*)	**47,522**	**100**
Hargrave (R)	**20,448**	**100**
Wilson (L)	**305**	**100**

DISTRICT 8 (56% D - 12% R - 24% DS)

McConnell (D)	3,847	7
Pelosi (D*)	**52,092**	**93**
Jenkel (R)	2,309	26
German (R)	**6,434**	**74**
Pond (G)	**2,299**	**100**
Spivack (L)	**327**	**100**

DISTRICT 9 (63% D - 12% R - 17% DS)

Lee (D*)	**63,341**	**85**
Greene (D)	11,409	15
Reyna (R)	4,637	38
Udinsky (R)	**7,474**	**62**
Eyer (L)	**290**	**100**

Question answered: A vote of conscience is not fatal in a left-leaning district. Incumbent Barbara Lee was the only member of Congress to vote against military action in the wake of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, and it was thought that she might be vulnerable at the polls. Silly thought.

DISTRICT 10 (46% D - 36% R - 13% DS)

Tauscher (D*)	**46,441**	**83**
Rasmussen (D)	9,257	17
Harden (L)	**429**	**100**

It is said that Democrat Ellen Tauscher was upset when she first saw her new district. Wonder what she thinks of it now?

DISTRICT 11 (38% D - 47% R - 11% DS)

Shaw (D)	**23,097**	**64**
Figueroa (D)	13,148	36
Pombo (R*)	**49,801**	**87**
Benigno (R)	7,482	13

DISTRICT 12 (52% D - 24% R - 20% DS)

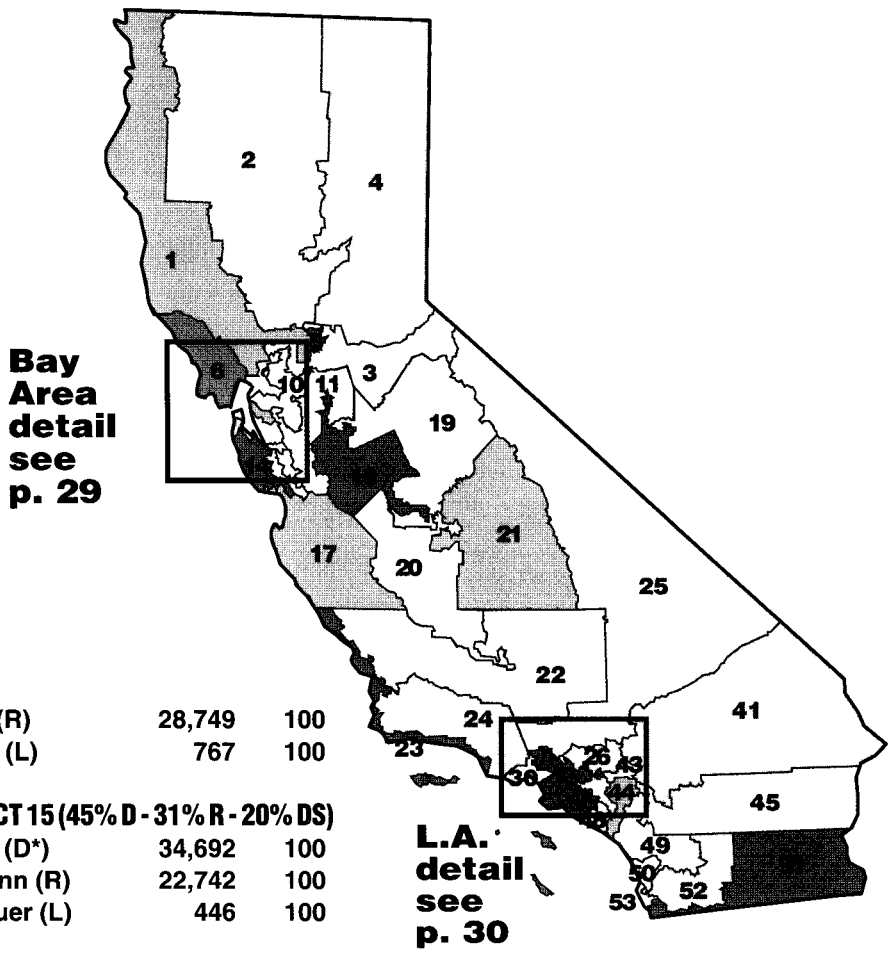
Lantos (D*)	**50,382**	**100**
Moloney (R)	**20,755**	**100**
Abu-Ghazalah (L)	**295**	**100**

DISTRICT 13 (54% D - 23% R - 18% DS)

Stark (D*)	**38,509**	**100**
Mahmood (R)	**16,775**	**100**
Grundmann (AI)	**338**	**100**
Stroberg (L)	**290**	**100**
Bambey (RF)	**78**	**100**

DISTRICT 14 (46% D - 31% R - 19% DS)

Eshoo (D)*	**47,241**	**100**
Nixon (R)	**28,749**	**100**
Carver (L)	**767**	**100**



DISTRICT 15 (45% D - 31% R - 20% DS)

Honda (D*)	**34,692**	**100**
Hermann (R)	**22,742**	**100**
Landauer (L)	**446**	**100**

DISTRICT 16 (50% D - 27% R - 19% DS)

Lofgren (D*)	**30,927**	**100**
McNea (R)	**16,632**	**100**
Umphress (L)	**287**	**100**

DISTRICT 17 (49% D - 30% R - 15% DS)

Dunn (D)	4,391	9
Farr (D*)	**44,947**	**91**
Engler (R)	**18,986**	**63**
Velazquez (R)	11,099	37
Glock-Grueneich (G)	**1,733**	**100**
Lee (L)	**384**	**100**

DISTRICT 18 (47% D - 41% R - 9% DS)

Pringle (D)	377	1
Martin (D)	633	2
Singh (D)	831	2
Condit (D*)	13,989	38
White (D)	1,175	3
Cardoza (D)	**19,991**	**54**
Conrad (R)	8,066	31
Yonker (R)	742	3
Monteith (R)	**14,074**	**54**
House (R)	3,217	12
Cripe (AI)	**451**	**100**
DeGroat (L)	**150**	**100**

Gary Condit — enmeshed in scandal and abandoned by longtime supporters, financial backers and party leaders — did not go quietly into the political night. Although Condit lost his bid for an eighth term, the beleaguered incumbent fought for his political life with the kind of vigor that characterized his 30-year career in politics. In a campaign that drew national attention, he stumped tirelessly into every corner of this sprawling Central Valley district, a sizable chunk new to him thanks to reapportionment. Even as his campaign suffered humiliations like a contributor asking for her money back, Condit rarely turned down an invitation to appear, confronting voters and detractors at campaign forums from Merced to Stockton. He waded through feedlots, sipped coffee at rural diners, staked out shopping malls and generally raised the anxiety level of his main primary

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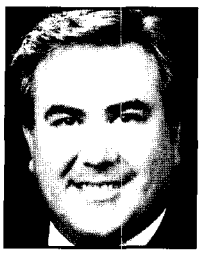
Cardoza

Condit

Monteith

opponent — Assm. Dennis Cardoza, a former aide and ally. Cardoza abandoned a run for the state Senate after Democratic leaders coaxed him into this race for fear that a damaged Condit would lose to a Republican. Chairman of Assembly Rules and a power in Sacramento, Cardoza brought stature to the contest but surprisingly little energy, employing a "rose garden" strategy that saw him skip candidate forums until late in the game. But Condit's spirited defense so narrowed Cardoza's once-formidable margin in polls that, on the eve of the election, a battalion of Cardoza "volunteers" were summoned from the state Capitol to walk precincts. In the end, Condit may have been done in as much by reapportionment as by scandal. Map-makers created this district last fall to discourage Condit from running, stripping away familiar foothill territory and attaching a swath of San Joaquin Co. There, voters only knew Condit as a womanizer involved with a 24-year-old Washington, D.C., intern who had disappeared. As a result, he captured only a quarter of the vote in San Joaquin, while Cardoza took 60%. Condit fared better in Merced Co. (38%), and he actually won in Stanislaus. Cardoza's victory does not remove CD 18 from the radar screen, however. With control of the U.S. House at stake in 2002, both parties view this seat as winnable. On the Republican side, state Sen. Dick Monteith easily brushed aside his primary opposition and now poses a formidable challenge in an area that overlaps large portions of his legislative district. As for Condit, voters interviewed after the election indicated that the decision to turn him out was agonizing for many of them. In their eyes, Condit was a good public servant, attentive to local needs and a powerful national voice for the Central Valley. They silenced that voice because his private behavior had undermined their respect for him and destroyed his effectiveness. Thus does Gary Condit depart, undone by a character flaw and the central figure in a classic political tragedy.

DISTRICT 19 (38% D - 48% R - 10% DS)		
Veen (D)	**28,429**	**100**
Radanovich (R*)	**50,452**	**100**
McHargue (L)	**279**	**100**

DISTRICT 20 (51% D - 35% R - 10% DS)		
Dooley (D*)	**24,980**	**100**
Minuth (R)	**7,973**	**52**
Martin (R)	7,337	48
Swearingen (L)	**97**	**100**

DISTRICT 21 (37% D - 49% R - 11% DS)		
LePere (D)	**21,891**	**100**
Short (R)	380	1
Morgan (R)	335	1
Briggs (R)	13,014	26
Patterson (R)	16,593	33
Ingles (R)	231	0
Nunes (R)	**18,554**	**37**
Wright (R)	1,252	3
Richter (L)	**170**	**100**

Yes, Virginia, there is a Revenge Fairy. Just ask Mike Briggs, whose decision to seek this newly created congressional seat rather than re-election to the Assembly was — to paraphrase Omar Bradley — the wrong race at the wrong time in the wrong place and against the wrong opponent. The Revenge Fairy descended on this part of the Central Valley to punish Briggs for a major Republican sin. Last summer, he was one of only four GOP legislators to vote for the state budget. Not only did he break ranks with party leadership, he cast the deciding vote. That indiscretion stirred conservatives with the ability to make life unpleasant for Briggs. A Washington, D.C.-based group called The Club for Growth pumped money and support into one of Briggs' main rivals — former Fresno Mayor Jim Patterson. Without those resources, the cash-strapped Patterson would never have been able to broaden his base beyond Fresno's city limits. Although Patterson had earned as many negatives as positives from his tenure in local government, his endorsement by The Club not only gave him a pipeline to conservative contributors, it plugged that pipeline for Briggs. Money from just about everybody else to Briggs (and to Patterson) then dried up because of the other main GOP candidate: Devin Nunes, a 28-year-old Tulare County dairy farmer backed by one of the region's major political powerhouses — U.S. House Ways and Means Chmn. Bill Thomas of Bakersfield. With Thomas' help, Nunes amassed a $500,000 campaign treasury and had nearly $300,000 on hand for a final push. That allowed Nunes to take up residence inside district mailboxes and to develop a strong media campaign, especially in Fresno County. He also gobbled up endorsements from nine members of the GOP congressional delegation, as well as from *The Fresno Bee*, hometown paper for both Briggs and Patterson. More significant, Nunes' alliance with Thomas meant that other GOP hopefuls were shut out when it came to raising money inside the Washington Beltway, a lucrative venue for congressional candidates. Only The Club's disdain for Thomas allowed Patterson to tap D.C. sources. More important, the district's geographic split also benefitted Nunes. CD 21 encompasses Fresno and Tulare counties, with each providing about half the GOP vote. Patterson won Fresno, but because he shares that base with Briggs, his margin of victory over Nunes was 2,600 votes. Nunes, on the other hand, hails from Tulare, where he beat Patterson by more than 4,500 votes. Had Briggs or Patterson been alone in the race with Nunes, the outcome may have been different. But because they split Fresno, Nunes rode the Thomas connection and his Tulare base to victory.

Nunes

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DISTRICT 22 (32% D - 52% R - 12% DS)

Corvera (D)	27,755	100
Thomas (R*)	64,352	100
Coates (L)	410	100

DISTRICT 23 (45% D - 33% R - 16% DS)

Capps (D*)	36,752	100
Rogers (R)	21,030	61
Regan (R)	13,257	39
Hill (L)	371	100

DISTRICT 24 (35% D - 46% R - 14% DS)

Rudin ((D)	29,304	100
Gallegly (R*)	55,312	100
Harber (L)	455	100

DISTRICT 25 (36% D - 45% R - 14% DS)

Conaway (D)	19,263	100
McKeon (R*)	32,859	84
Aldrich (R)	6,177	16
Consolo (L)	285	100

DISTRICT 26 (35% D - 47% R - 15% DS)

Mikels (D)	23,362	100
Dreier (R*)	48,043	100
Weissbach (L)	300	100

DISTRICT 27 (49% D - 31% R - 15% DS)

Sherman (D*)	30,515	100
Levy (R)	22,811	100

DISTRICT 28 (58% D - 22% R - 16% DS)

Berman (D*)	31,643	100
Hernandez (R)	11,448	100
Ross (L)	197	100

DISTRICT 29 (45% D - 34% R - 17% DS)

Schiff (D*)	26,783	100
Scileppi (R)	24,233	100
Brown (L)	236	100

DISTRICT 30 (52% D - 27% R - 17% DS)

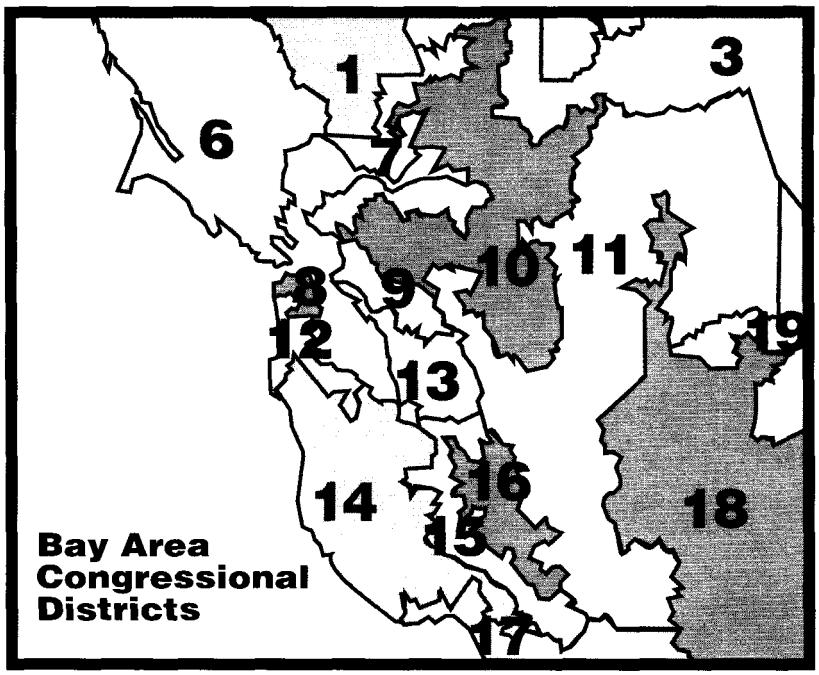
Waxman (D*)	46,760	89
Feldman (D)	5,550	11
Goss (R)	26,736	100

DISTRICT 31 (61% D - 17% R - 16% DS)

Becerra (D*)	22,016	100
Pantazis (R)	2,087	35
Vega (R)	3,855	65

DISTRICT 32 (54% D - 27% R - 16% DS)

Solis (D*)	22,860	100
Fischbeck (R)	12,013	100
McGuire (L)	87	100



DISTRICT 33 (67% D - 13% R - 14% DS)

Watson (D*)	44,785	100
Kim (R)	7,079	100
Tate (L)	173	100

DISTRICT 34 (61% D - 20% R - 13% DS)

Roybal-Allard (D*)	22,547	100
Miller (R)	7,907	100

DISTRICT 35 (69% D - 14% R - 11% DS)

Waters (D*)	33,547	100
Moen (R)	5,030	69
Cyrus (R)	2,313	31
Mego (AI)	143	100

DISTRICT 36 (46% D - 32% R - 17% DS)

Harman (D*)	32,202	100
Johnson (R)	15,830	57
Davis (R)	11,902	43
McSpadden (L)	387	100

DISTRICT 37 (62% D - 18% R - 13% DS)

Mathews (D)	6,567	22
Millender-McDonald (D*)	23,123	78
Velasco (R)	8,715	100
Peters (L)	151	100

DISTRICT 38 (60% D - 22% R - 14% DS)

Napolitano (D*)	19,607	65
Salcido (D)	10,820	36
Burrola (R)	10,616	100
Cuperus (L)	81	100

DISTRICT 39 (55% D - 27% R - 14% DS)

Graham (D)	1,693	6
Rahder (D)	2,434	8
Groom (D)	1,098	4
DeLaTorre (D)	8,683	29
Sanchez (D)	9,981	34
Havice (D)	5,654	19
Escobar (R)	11,687	70
Owens (R)	4,945	30
Newhouse (L)	147	100

Sanchez

The first-ever sister act in Congress is about to descend on Washington, D. C., thanks to Linda Sanchez's victory in CD 39, made open by the retirement of Republican incumbent Steve Horn. Sanchez is the younger sister of Orange County Rep. Loretta Sanchez, whose money and influence helped Linda capture the seat against a large field of Democratic contenders. Sanchez also was helped by the fact that her two main opponents — Hector De La Torre and Assm. Sally Havice — were flawed. De La Torre's problem was one of proximity; as a councilman in South Gate, he is part of a city government plagued by political scandal and recall efforts — one of which has been launched against De La Torre. Although not the subject of the most

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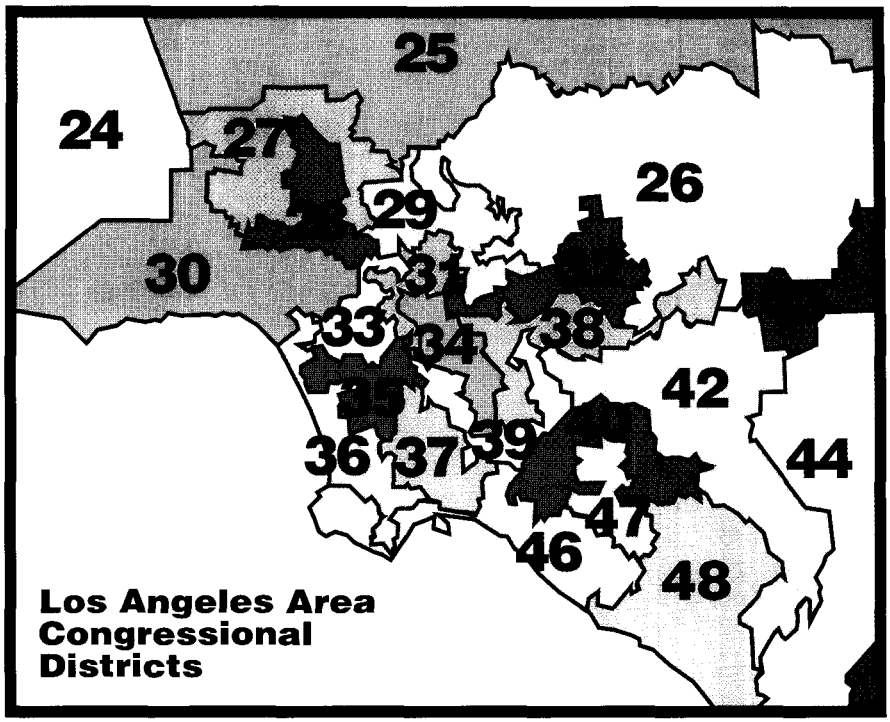
serious recalls, those based on allegations of corruption, De La Torre's campaign suffered from guilt by association, a notion reinforced by Sanchez's ads accusing him of taking campaign contributions from a trash hauler who does business with South Gate. Several South Gate officials demanded that Sanchez withdraw what they claimed was a false and misleading ad, but she refused. Havice, on the other hand, is a weak fund raiser and campaigner who had survived three tough legislative races by relying on resources from colleagues in Sacramento. Left to her own devices, she failed to raise enough money to compete effectively and finished a distant third. With Latinos the major voting bloc, De La Torre was helped by an endorsement from Rep. Hilda Solis from the neighboring 32nd District. Ironically, he also was endorsed by Horn. Sanchez countered by bringing her popular sister into the district to walk precincts with her. Loretta Sanchez's charisma and appeal as a trend-setting Latina politician trumped De La Torre's endorsements from the likes of Solis and, coupled with Linda's money, gave clan Sanchez the upper hand. The campaign itself turned ugly toward the end, with both Havice and De La Torre accusing Sanchez of carpetbagging into the district from her home in Orange Co. to run for the office, and Sanchez trying to link De La Torre to South Gate scandals.



Los Angeles Area Congressional Districts

DISTRICT 40 (34% D - 48% R - 14% DS)		
Avalos (D)	**24,483**	**100**
Royce (R*)	**48,585**	**100**
McGlawn (L)	**427**	**100**

DISTRICT 41 (36% D - 47% R - 12% DS)		
Johnson (D)	**22,743**	**100**
Lewis (R*)	**41,651**	**100**
Craig (L)	**314**	**100**

DISTRICT 42 (31% D - 51% R - 15% DS)		
Waldron (D)	**22,537**	**100**
Miller (R*)	**52,506**	**100**
Yee (L)	**344**	**100**

DISTRICT 43 (55% D - 29% R - 11% DS)		
Baca (D*)	**18,438**	**100**
Neighbor (R)	**10,706**	**100**
Mohler (L)	**87**	**100**

DISTRICT 44 (34% D - 49% R - 12% DS)		
Vandenberg (D)	**19,690**	**100**
Calvert (R*)	**27,481**	**70**
Collen (R)	9,918	25
Jafri (R)	1,869	5
Courtney (G)	**221**	**100**

Another busy primary season for incumbent Ken Calvert, and another walk-over.

DISTRICT 45 (37% D - 47% R - 12% DS)		
Kurpiewski (D)	**21,503**	**100**
Bono (R*)	**37,148**	**100**
Miller-Boyer (L)	**182**	**100**

DISTRICT 46 (33% D - 48% R - 15% DS)		
Schipske (D)	**28,820**	**100**
Rohrabacher (R*)	**58,344**	**100**
Gann (L)	**619**	**100**

DISTRICT 47 (48% D - 34% R - 14% DS)		
Sanchez (D*)	**16,599**	**100**
Chavez (R)	**8,053**	**54**
Fisher (R)	6,980	46
Marsden (L)	**205**	**100**

DISTRICT 48 (28% D - 53% R - 16% DS)		
Graham (D)	**29,747**	**100**
Forman *R)	3,282	4
Cox (R*)	**74,118**	**89**
Cobert (R)	5,697	7
Cobb (L)	**697**	**100**

DISTRICT 49 (30% D - 50% R - 15% DS)		
Issa (R*)	**42,540**	**100**
Dietrich (L)	**338**	**100**

DISTRICT 50 (31% D - 46% R - 18% DS)		
Stewart (D)	**24,898**	**100**
Hart (R)	7,526	13
Cunningham (R*)	**48,764**	**87**
Fontanesi (L)	**509**	**100**

DISTRICT 51 (48% D - 31% R - 16% DS)		
Filner (D*)	**22,608**	**70**
Ramirez (D)	9,692	30
Garcia (R)	**10,257**	**53**
Durazo (R)	9,187	47
Keup (L)	**159**	**100**

Latino activists are unhappy with the way this district was drawn, claiming that map-makers split up Latino voters to provide a safer haven for incumbent Bob Filner. Even so, Latinos account for more than 50% of the district, and this year's primary challenge may be a prelude for Filner.

DISTRICT 52 (32% D - 47% R - 16% DS)		
Moore-Kochlacs (D)	**25,076**	**100**
Hunter (R*)	**53,548**	**100**
Benoit (L)	**481**	**100**

DISTRICT 53 (42% D - 33% R - 18% DS)		
Davis (D*)	**30,487**	**100**
Kane (R)	11,103	42
VanDeWeghe (R)	**15,068**	**58**

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State Senate

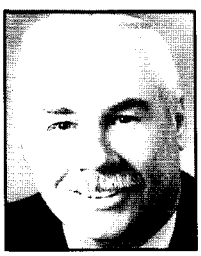
DISTRICT 2 (49% D - 29% R - 14% DS)

Chesboro (D*)	**77,201**	**100**
Redfearn (R)	**21,486**	**42**
Purificacion (R)	12,980	25
Posselt (R)	17,273	33
Likover (L)	**867**	**100**

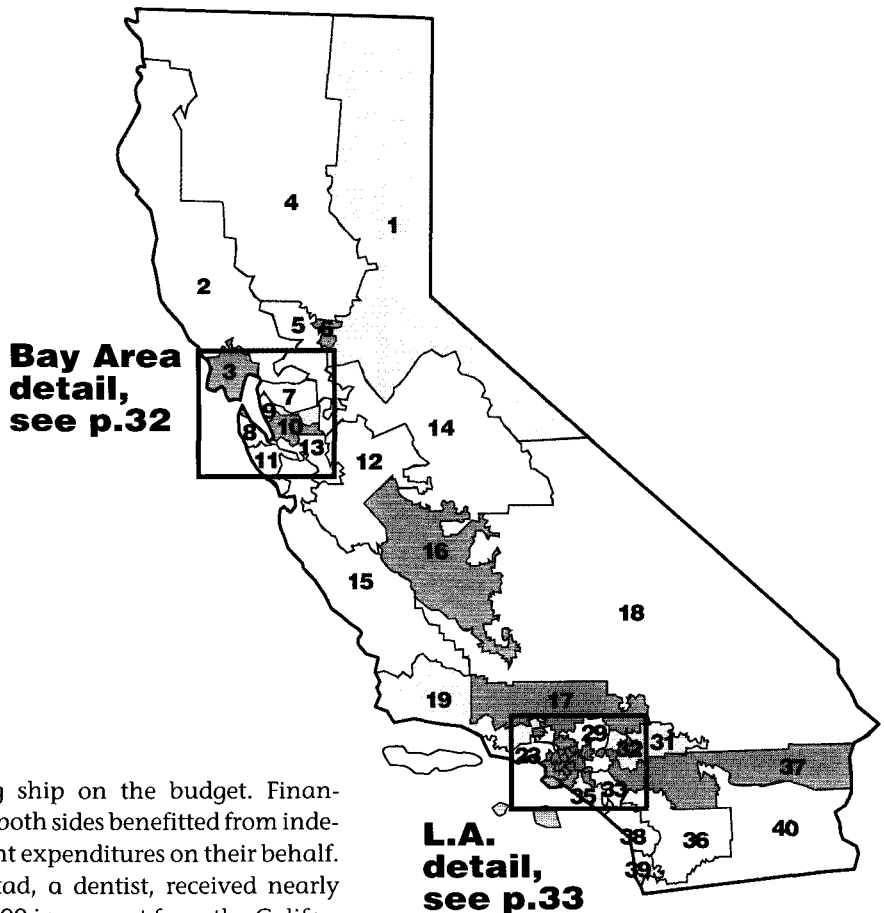
DISTRICT 4 (35% D - 46% R - 13% DS)

Smith (D)	**53,128**	**100**
Dickerson (R)	45,681	44
Aanestad (R)	**58,695**	**56**
Underwood (L)	**912**	**100**

Aanestad



Dickerson



The 2002 election produced two classic Republican Senate primaries at opposite ends of the state, each featuring a moderate-conservative clash between a pair of Assembly members vying for an open Senate. And thanks to a strong conservative turnout, SD 4 (north state) and SD 36 (San Diego-Riverside) produced the same result: The conservative won. In SD 4, Assm. Sam Aanestad defeated Assm. Dick Dickerson by focusing on one issue: Republican loyalty. Dickerson was one of only four GOP legislators to join with Democrats to approve last year's budget. Dickerson tried to portray that vote as good for the district, but Aanestad successfully cast it as an act of treachery. Conservatives, especially, had blood in their eyes, and Aanestad was able to gather a host of important endorsements in a mountainous region noted for its conservative politics. The Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Assn. jumped aboard early, as did a number of local officials in vote-rich Butte Co. He also was endorsed by all but three GOP state senators and by 23 members of the Assembly caucus who sought to repay Dickerson for abandoning ship on the budget. Financially, both sides benefitted from independent expenditures on their behalf. Aanestad, a dentist, received nearly $400,000 in support from the California Dental Assn. Dickerson, on the other hand, was backed by labor, including an independent expenditure worth more than $250,000 from a public-employee union, and another from the prison guards' union. Unfortunately for Dickerson, his labor support backfired when a labor-inspired slate mailer included him in a list of endorsements, the rest of which were Democrats such as Gray Davis. With his friends reinforcing Aanestad's message, Dickerson didn't need enemies. Finally, Aanestad was more successful at holding his geographic base, which was crucial given that Dickerson's home in Shasta Co. provided twice as many eligible voters for this primary as did Aanestad's in Nevada Co. But Nevada gave its native son 83% of the vote, good for a 9,000-vote margin. And although Shasta gave Dickerson 61% of a larger vote, it only translated into a margin of 4,500. The district's other population center — Butte — also went heavily for Aanestad (64% to 36%, and a 6,000-vote bulge). In the end, Dickerson, like moderates elsewhere, was undone by atmospherics: Conservatives, driven by fears of a Richard Riordan governorship, voted in strength, and that spelled doom for any Republican crossways with conservatives.

DISTRICT 6 (50% D - 30% R - 14% DS)

Ortiz (D*)	**55,769**	**100**
Sewell (L)	**367**	**100**

DISTRICT 8 (52% D - 21% R - 22% DS)

Speier (D*)	**65,840**	**100**
Zell (R)	**22,898**	**100**
Fliegler (L)	**412**	**100**

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DISTRICT 10 (51% D - 26% R - 19% DS)

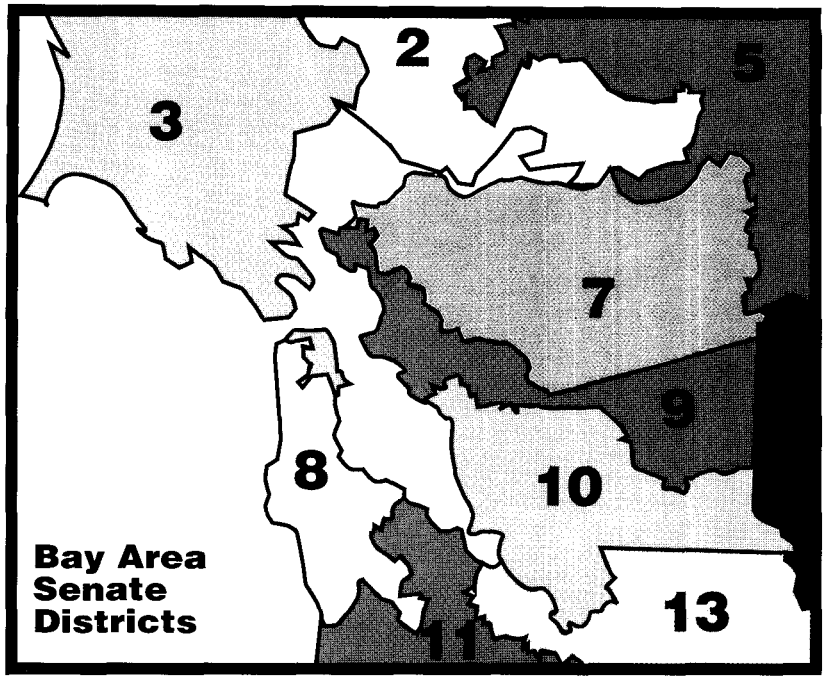
Figueroa (D*)	**44,070**	**100**
Gunther (R)	**23,890**	**100**
Darnell (L)	**353**	**100**

DISTRICT 12 (46% D - 40% R - 10% DS)

Areias (D)	**28,574**	**62**
Flores (D)	17,763	38
Denham (R)	**20,286**	**54**
Wright (R)	3,240	9
Frusetta (R)	14,254	38
Eaton (L)	**220**	**100**

Areias

Denham



When this primary first took shape, it promised to be one of the most intriguing legislative races in the state, especially on the Democratic side. That's because the Democrat who was supposed to run here — and for whom the district had been drawn — decided to run for Congress instead (see CD 18), leaving the race wide open for both parties. Into the breach stepped a strong field of Democratic contenders, including former Assm. Rusty Areias (now head of the Dept. of Parks and Recreation), Merced Co. prosecutor Larry Morse, Modesto attorney Armando Flores — and Chad Condit, son of Gary. But Morse and Condit dropped out before the filing deadline, and the Democratic contest dissolved into an uneven fight between Areias and Flores. The Arieas name still carries a lot of weight in the Central Valley, and he swamped Flores in each of the district's five counties despite negative publicity generated by his personal finances and loss of the family dairy farm in a disputed bankruptcy. With the Democratic primary muted, focus shifted to the Republican contest between Jeff Denham and former Assm. Peter Frusetta — two candidates who have been linked in the past. Two years ago, Denham tried to succeed Frusetta, who was termed out of the Assembly. Frusetta, however, backed Denham's primary opponent, who lost to Denham. Denham gained Frusetta's support in the general election, but he lost to Democrat Simon Salinas. The two candidates entered this contest with similar strengths and weaknesses. Both are engaged in agriculture, both hail from the same turf — west of the coast mountains — and both were unknown in the vote-rich San Joaquin Valley. That dynamic favored Denham. Frusetta, who succeeded Areias in the Assembly in 1994, was elected to three terms in the Legislature and each time, Democrats thought they could take him out. Frusetta didn't seem to have much on the ball. He was quirky and given to rambling, often incoherent speeches. He wore a Stetson on the Assembly floor and seemed out of place among his more polished and articulate colleagues. But Frusetta was a local legend around San Benito and Monterey counties, a former star baseball player who had waged a rugged campaign against Areias in 1992. Frusetta simply could not lose in his own backyard, a notion reinforced in this election. Frusetta defeated Denham in places where he was known. Unfortunately, the new SD 12 included territory where he was not known, places where voters evaluated the 69-year-old Frusetta and 34-year-old Denham at face value. As many had suspected for years, Frusetta does not play well off his turf. While Denham's campaign focused on issues of concern to voters, such as education and agriculture, Frusetta talked about non-issues such as law-and-order and the U.S. Constitution. Voters also seemed more impressed with Denham's energtic campaign style. In the end, while Frusetta secured his old turf, Denham more than made up the difference by running away with the new, swamping his adversary by some 3,000 votes in Stanislaus and another 2,600 votes in Merced. He now squares off against Areias in what promises to be the only Senate race of consequence come November. Translation: big big big bucks spent here.

DISTRICT 14 (36% D - 51% R - 10% DS)

Poochigian (R*)	**78,721**	**100**

DISTRICT 16 (50% D - 36% R - 10% DS)

Florez (D)	**32,751**	**100**
Knox (R)	**20,235**	**100**

DISTRICT 18 (33% D - 51% R - 11% DS)

Ashburn (R)	**74,239**	**100**

DISTRICT 20 (55% D - 25% R - 15% DS)

Alarcon (D*)	**33,882**	**100**

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DISTRICT 22 (61% D - 28% R - 16% DS)

Cedillo (D)	27,765	100

DISTRICT 24 (55% D - 25% R - 16% DS)

Romero (D*)	30,896	100
House (R)	14,307	100
Swinney (L)	118	100

DISTRICT 26 (67% D - 13% R - 14% DS)

Murray (D*)	52,586	100

This is the consequence of the 2001 redistricting plan: In five of the last seven districts listed here, only one candidate filed for either party. And two of these seats — SD 18 and SD 22 — are open because the incumbent is termed out. If you are yawning your way through the list, think how constituents in these five districts must feel.

DISTRICT 28 (49% D - 30% R - 17% DS)

Bowen (D*)	43,615	100
Hill (R)	20,737	67
Rizk (R)	10,139	33
DeBaets (L)	461	100

DISTRICT 30 (59% D - 24% R - 13% DS)

Escutia (D*)	36,460	100
J.Robertson (R)	16,694	100

DISTRICT 32 (55% D - 29% R - 12% DS)

Soto (D*)	23,898	100
K.Robertson (R)	14,365	100

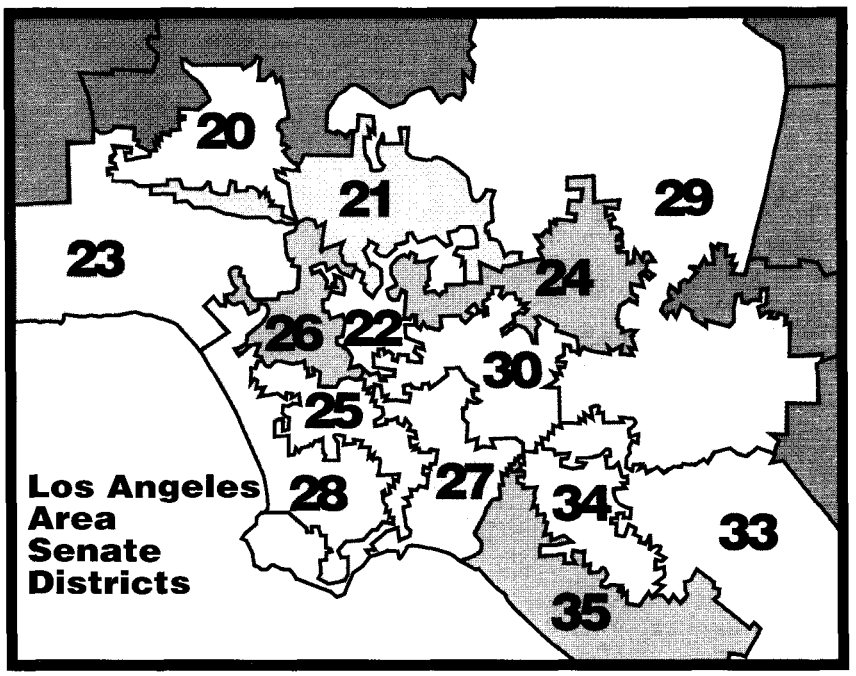
DISTRICT 34 (46% D - 35% R - 15% DS)

Dunn (D*)	23,721	100
Gonzalez (R)	20,951	100

DISTRICT 36 (29% D - 50% R - 15% DS)

Westall (D)	28,395	100
Hollingsworth (R)	42,704	54
Zettel (R)	36,159	46
Metti (L)	579	100

No contest short of governor illustrated conservative voting strength better than Assm. Dennis Hollingsworth's victory over Assm. Charlene Zettel. On paper, Zettel had the advantage of both geography and money. Her base in San Diego Co. comprised two-thirds of the district; Hollingworth's in Riverside Co. only one-third. She also outraised him by nearly $500,000, not including independent expenditures made on her behalf by the California Correctional Peace Officers Assn. But



Hollingsworth

Zettel

Hollingsworth had a major advantage: He was the candidate on the right, and conservatives both endorsed him and came out strong to vote for him – on both sides of the Riverside-San Diego border. Included in his list of endorsements was that of Sen. Ray Haynes, the conservative Republican termed out of this district and seeking Hollingsworth's seat in the Assembly. That proved more important than Zettel's roster of support, including endorsements from the two major area newspapers – the *San Diego Union* and *Riverside Press-Enterprise*. Trafficking heavily on his conservative pedigree, Hollingsworth torched Zettel on his home ground, walking away with 70% of the vote in Riverside County. But Zettel had problems in San Diego, as well. This district takes in the east county, which is heavily conservative, and the moderate Zettel didn't fit the profile. Early polls showed her 10 points down, and she never made up the difference. That having been said, this race also illustrates what happens to otherwise decent people when the stakes become political life and death, for this contest degenerated far into the gutter. Hollingsworth's allies sent out emails accusing Zettel of having loose morals while a coed at USC in the 1960s. Hollingsworth's own mail called attention to Zettel's ethnicity by referring to her as "Charlene Gonzales Zettel," a tactic that drew charges of racism. For her part, Zettel's campaign ran radio ads accusing her opponent of adultery and sexual harassment. A mailer on her behalf from the CCPOA also linked Hollingsworth with Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, referring to them as right-wing extremists. Unfortunately for Zettel, a large number of voters in this election admire Falwell and Robertson.

DISTRICT 38 (29% D - 49% R - 17% DS)

Hanneman (D)	28,150	100
Morrow (R*)	63,699	100
Grossmith (L)	587	100

DISTRICT 40 (47% D - 32% R - 16% DS)

Ducheny (D)	30,683	100
Giorgino (R)	23,292	100
Miranda (L)	182	100

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Assembly

DISTRICT 1 (46% D - 31% R - 15% DS)

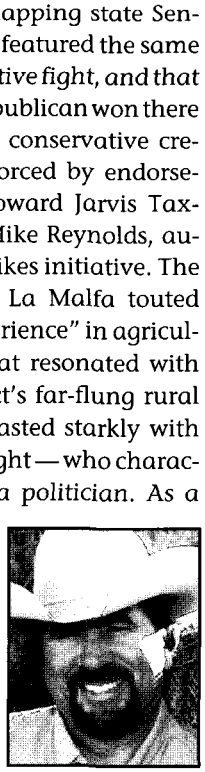
Jehn (D)	7,303	16
Mastin (D)	6,744	15
Robey (D)	10,989	24
Berg (D)	**20,041**	**45**
Stoen (R)	**11,385**	**36**
Romero (R)	9,522	30
Brown (R)	11,189	35
Thron (G)	**3,257**	**100**

The race to succeed termed-out Democrat Virginia Strom-Martin took a few odd twists and turns, but the result was as expected. Democratic Party activist Patty Berg captured the nomination — and likely the seat — by besting three other candidates in the primary. Berg crafted her victory from endorsements from the likes of area state Sen. Wes Chesboro and financial support from labor, trial lawyers and realtors. Her chief opponent, Lake Co. Supe. Ed Robey, was unable to stretch himself beyond his relatively small base and did not prove competitive in Sonoma and Mendocino counties. Former Ukiah Mayor Jim Mastin did well in his base in Mendocino Co. but still lost to Berg there. Berg, on the other hand, operated from the largest voting base in Humboldt Co., which she secured, beating Robey by some 6,000 votes on her home turf. She also won vote-rich Sonoma Co., where the field was relatively unknown. The contest was marked by an odd twist when Robey signed an agreement with Green Party candidate Doug Thron, promising to champion the environment. And the Jehn campaign was hurt when Chesboro complained that a Jehn mailer gave the false impression that Chesboro had endorsed him.

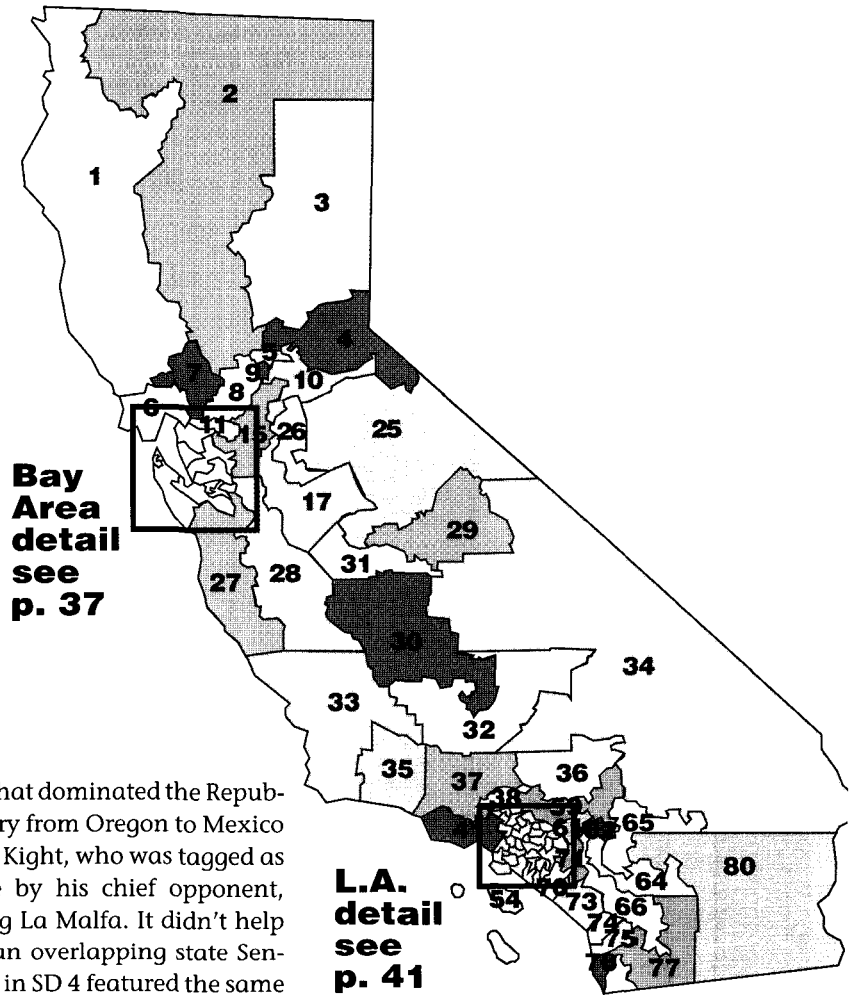
DISTRICT 2 (36% D - 47% R - 12% DS)

Kinyon (D)	**25,437**	**100**
La Malfa (R)	**29,792**	**59**
Kight (R)	11,420	23
Byrne (R)	7,638	15
Ryhal (R)	1,786	4
Bret (L)	**422**	**100**

In some other year, Redding Mayor Pat Kight may have been more competitive. But this year, the conservative tide that dominated the Republican primary from Oregon to Mexico swept away Kight, who was tagged as a moderate by his chief opponent, farmer Doug La Malfa. It didn't help Kight that an overlapping state Senate primary in SD 4 featured the same moderate-conservative fight, and that the conservative Republican won there as well. La Malfa's conservative credentials were reinforced by endorsements from the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Assn. and Mike Reynolds, author of the three-strikes initiative. The largely self-funded La Malfa touted his "real world experience" in agriculture, a message that resonated with voters in the district's far-flung rural counties and contrasted starkly with the city-dwelling Kight — who characterized himself as a politician. As a result, those rural counties gave La Malfa more than 70% of the vote. Still, the primary was to be won or lost in Kight's home county, Shasta, and in Redding itself. Had Kight been able to seize a large slab of his base, he may have offset La Malfa's strength elsewhere. But Kight faltered in his own backyard, polling less than 40% of the vote in Shasta and losing there to La Malfa by nearly 1,000 votes. The other significant GOP candidate, businessman John Byrne, never gained traction and was hurt when a gun-owner association denied that it had endorsed him, as Byrne claimed.



La Malfa



DISTRICT 3 (35% D - 43% R - 15% DS)

King (D)	**27,198**	**100**
Keene (R)	**29,606**	**59**
Ostrander (R)	20,991	41
Peterson (L)	**477**	**100**

Chico Councilman Rick Keene's advantages — elective base and conservative philosophy — were too much for political neophyte and author Dan

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Ostrander, even if Ostrander did loan his campaign enough money to service the national debt of Peru. Keene's elective base in Butte Co. provides the district's largest voting bloc, and he more than held it, winning two-thirds of the vote. This was not a year to be on the left side of Republican issues, and Ostrander's pro-choice views allowed Keene to duct-tape his opponent to the third rail of GOP politics, that of being a moderate. As in AD 2, this race overlapped with the SD 4 primary, where conservative Assm. Sam Aanestad defeated moderate Assm. Dick Dickerson. AD 3 is Aanestad's home port, and his success also strengthened Keene's bid to succeed him. Endorsements from area lawmakers such as Sen. Rico Oller and Assm. Tim Leslie solidified Keene's reputation as a conservative and helped him capture the district's second-largest voting bloc in Nevada Co. With Butte and Nevada firmly in the fold, the race became academic, but not before the two bashed each other's character. Ostrander accused Keene of representing child molesters as an attorney; Keene falsely accused Ostrander of having to defend himself in a wrongful-death suit. And so it went.

DISTRICT 4 (34% D - 47% R - 14% DS)

Warren (D)	**25,263**	**100**
Leslie (R*)	**47,236**	**100**

DISTRICT 5 (38% D - 44% R - 14% DS)

Ulis (D)	**23,501**	**100**
Cox (R*)	**39,191**	**100**
Leibman (L)	**257**	**100**

DISTRICT 6 (51% D - 27% R - 16% DS)

Nation (D*)	**42,489**	**100**
Hitt (R)	**23,006**	**100**
Olmstead (L)	**402**	**100**

DISTRICT 7 (52% D - 29% R - 14% DS)

Wiggins (D*)	**34,543**	**100**
Kozlowski (L)	**304**	**100**

DISTRICT 8 (47% D - 32% R - 16% DS)

Hardy (D)	9,274	28
Cabaldon (D)	10,445	31
Wolk (D)	**13,858**	**41**
Munn (R)	**21,725**	**100**

Independent expenditures and outside influences marked this three-way Democratic contest to replace termed-out Democrat Helen Thomson. The three candidates represented separate portions of a district that stretches through Yolo and Solano counties, from West Sacramento to Benicia, and the eventual victor — Yolo Co. Supe. Lois Wolk — had two advantages. First, she was the only elected official to represent a large section of the district. As a result, she enjoyed the highest name ID going into the campaign. Second, she was the candidate of the left, which did as well among Democrats in this primary as conservatives did among Republicans. Chris Cabaldon served two terms as mayor of West Sacramento and still sits on the city council, but West Sac is on the district's eastern fringe and accounts for less than 10% of its registered Democrats. Steve Hardy is a longtime legislative staffer from Solano, but his only elective experience was as a Vacaville school board member more than a decade ago. His candidacy was essentially the creature of Senate Democratic leadership and its allies, including the California Correctional Peace Officers Assn. and Senate pro Tem John Burton of San Francisco. Those connections brought labor into the Hardy camp, as well as backing from the gaming and liquor interests who know him as a consultant to the Senate Governmental Organization Committee. As the only Solano native, Hardy gained many endorsements from officials in his home county, including that of U.S. Rep. George Miller, in an effort to solidify his base. But going in, a Hardy victory depended on Wolk and Cabaldon splitting Yolo while he captured a huge portion of the bigger constituency in Solano. The strategy failed when Wolk's popularity in Davis and elsewhere in Yolo allowed her to overcome Cabaldon's substantial fund-raising edge and capture 52% of the county vote. More important, Hardy was virtually invisible there with 12%. Meanwhile, although Hardy won on his home turf, both Cabaldon and Wolk each came away with enough Solano votes to hold Hardy well under 50%.

Wolk

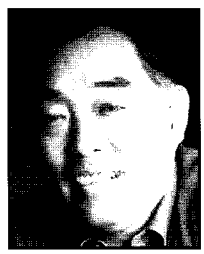
DISTRICT 9 (58% D - 22% R - 14% DS)

Steinberg (D*)	**30,844**	**100**
Pegos (R)	**12,474**	**100**
Poston (L)	**167**	**100**

DISTRICT 10 (40% D - 44% R - 12% DS)

Cooley (D)	10,063	36
Maestas (D)	**11,643**	**42**
Campbell (D)	4,202	15
Kesthely (D)	2,009	7
Bagatelos (R)	6,200	15
Nakanishi R)	**20,848**	**49**
Payne (R)	3,680	9
Kramer (R)	12,102	28

Maestas


Nakanishi

As you read this, Republicans in AD 10 are still cleaning the slime out of their mailboxes. Former Lodi Mayor Alan Nakanishi won what turned out to be a nasty primary, but his route to victory was coated with grime. Nakanishi began the race as the candidate to beat after narrowly losing a state Senate knockabout two years ago to Democrat Mike Machado. As a result, he picked up early endorsements from the likes of Senate GOP Ldr. Jim Brulte and socked away a sizable campaign treasury. Thanks to residual name ID left over from his Senate contest, he built a big lead in early polls, then chose not to jeopardize that advantage by doing anything so risky as appearing in public with his opponents. Nakanishi failed to show up at five of seven candidate forums, preferring to campaign on the airwaves and in mailboxes. Nakanishi's status as front-runner made him a target for everyone else. John Bagatelos, for example, claimed in a mailer that Nakanishi had squandered taxpayer

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money on trinkets while mayor. The spending was correct; the timing was wrong because the incident took place while someone else was mayor. A television ad by the optometrists' association seemed to imply that Nakanishi, an opthamologist, is a lousy doctor. Nakanishi, meanwhile, called attention to Bagatelos' support from labor and labeled him a "stealth Democrat." He characterized another candidate, Dan Kramer, as supporting abortion rights, gun control and gay rights after Kramer was endorsed by *The Sacramento Bee*. It was difficult to find real issues in all this hoopla and mess and, in the end, it didn't matter. Republican voters knew Nakanishi from his Senate race and knew him to be a conservative — an important GOP credential in 2002. Nakanishi racked up two-thirds of the GOP vote in San Joaquin Co., making the contest academic in the district's other three counties. For safe measure, Nakanishi also finished first in Sacramento Co. On the Democratic side, Sacramento Co. Planning Commissioner Katherine Maestas, a former Capitol staffer, outdistanced attorney Ken Cooley, himself a former staffer. With so few districts in play this fall, Democrats thought about making a run at Nakanishi, but their ardor may have cooled given Bagatelos' weak performance. A strong showing by the moderate Bagatelos may have emboldened Democrats, but the fact that he gained only 14% of the vote makes a November ambush unlikely.

DISTRICT 11 (54% D - 27% R - 11% DS)		
Canciamilla (D*)	**31,522**	**100**
Denny (R)	**16,903**	**100**
Manske (L)	**239**	**100**

DISTRICT 12 (54% D - 16% R - 25% DS)		
Kelly (D)	12,837	38
Yee (D)	**21,025**	**62**
Epstein (R)	**6,652**	**100**
Denny (L)	**165**	**100**

As expected, San Francisco Supe. Leland Yee coasted to victory over San Francisco school board member Dan Kelly in this heavily Asian district. Kelly was backed by the city's liberals but couldn't overcome Yee's name ID and sizeable treasury. Nor could he overcome public dissatisfaction with San Francisco's public schools, which made it hard to tout his accomplishments.

DISTRICT 13 (58% D - 12% R - 23% DS)		
Thier (D)	2,398	6
Phillips (D)	4,558	11
Leno (D)	**17,371**	**42**
Britt (D)	16,670	41
Neira (R)	**3,379**	**55**
Kriesel (R)	2,723	45
Maden (L)	**241**	**100**

The contest to replace termed-out Democrat Carole Migden — one of the first openly gay women to sit in the Legislature — produced the first openly gay man to claim a seat in Sacramento. It also produced one of the state's closest and most negative primary elections, as San Francisco Supe. Mark Leno narrowly defeated former Supe. Harry Britt. The contest split the gay community three ways between Leno, Britt and Holli Thier, former head of the League of Women Voters, giving rise to the fourth candidacy — that of Steve Phillips, an ally of Mayor Willie Brown. Phillips hoped to exploit a three-way split in the gay vote and ease to victory with strong support from Brown and the African American community. But Thier failed to gain any traction as the campaign progressed, essentially leaving the field to Leno and Britt, who went at each other in a progressively nasty campaign. Leno accused Britt of missing more than 6,000 votes during a decade and a half as a supervisor. Britt denied the charge and grumped that Leno had been reduced to saying anything to get elected and that his election would reflect badly on the city's gay community. Britt criticized Leno for taking money from developers; Leno said Britt was in the pocket of big labor. At one point, Thier and Britt asked Leno to stop his negative campaign, but their plea was ignored. Toward the end, when polls showed Thier hopelessly behind, she asked her supporters to vote for Britt, who also was heavily backed by Migden. Leno ultimately prevailed, thanks to a stronger get-out-the-vote effort and the fact that some of Britt's labor support showed up in his bank account but not at the polls. Although Phillips was a longshot, his showing was particularly weak and marked another in a series of local defeats for Brown, whose aura of invincibility has shown signs of evaporating. As a result, this area could be the scene of a terrific brawl in 2004 when Migden and Brown square off for the Senate seat being vacated by the then-termed out John Burton.

DISTRICT 14 (59% D - 18% R - 14% DS)		
Ramsey (D)	14,975	28
Hancock (D)	**28,643**	**54**
Brown (D)	9,584	18

Support from liberal Democratic voters gave former Berkeley Mayor Loni Hancock had an easier-than-expected victory over school board member Charles Ramsey in this Berkeley-based East Bay enclave. Ramsey, who hails from the Contra Costa Co. portion of the district, built a strong coalition from trade and public-employee unions, law enforcement and business, and had nailed down a significant roster of endorsements that included Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante and the mayor of Hancock's hometown. But Hancock has put a lot of years of service in regional and local politics, not only as an elected official but as the wife of and adviser to the man who represented this area for many years in the Assembly — Tom Bates. Hancock also had her own formidable list of endorsees, including U.S. Sen. Barbara Boxer and termed-out incumbent Assm. Dion Aroner, as well as backing from nurses, teachers and women's groups. Ramsey had hoped to profit from his larger base in Contra Costa, but Hancock even defeated him there. Ramsey who is African American, also needed to run well in Richmond, with its large number of black voters, but the third candidate, Richmond native Dave Brown, siphoned away votes in that venue. Brown is a former chief of staff for an Alameda Co. supervisor. Official Berkeley defections notwithstand-

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ing, Hancock took 65% of the vote on her home ground.

DISTRICT 15 (38% D - 44% R - 12% DS)

Gerber (D)	**27,450**	**100**
Houston (R)	**23,148**	**60**
Blake (R)	15,687	40

Republican Guy Houston, the former mayor of Dublin, had all the endorsements most of the money and the advantage of geography in his campaign for the GOP nomination against Gordon Blake, a dental lab owner and member of the Contra Costa Co. Republican Central Committee. And he used those advantages to capture the Republican vote in all four counties that make up AD 15. Not that he needed three of those counties after capturing nearly 60% of the vote in Contra Costa. Houston's victory now sets up one of the more intriguing races this fall. Democrat Donna Gerber is a Contra Costa supervisor with a solid electoral record. But she faces the challenges inherent in a newly constructed district that sprawls into unfamiliar territory in Sacramento and San Joaquin counties. She also faces the daunting task of running in a district where Republicans outnumber Democrats. Still, Gerber's past success at the polls has the attention of Capitol Democrats who have few venues in which to cause mischief. This could be one of them.

DISTRICT 16 (63% D - 12% R - 18% DS)

Chan (D*)	**37,163**	**100**
Nugent (R)	**7,260**	**100**
Armstrong (L)	**152**	**100**

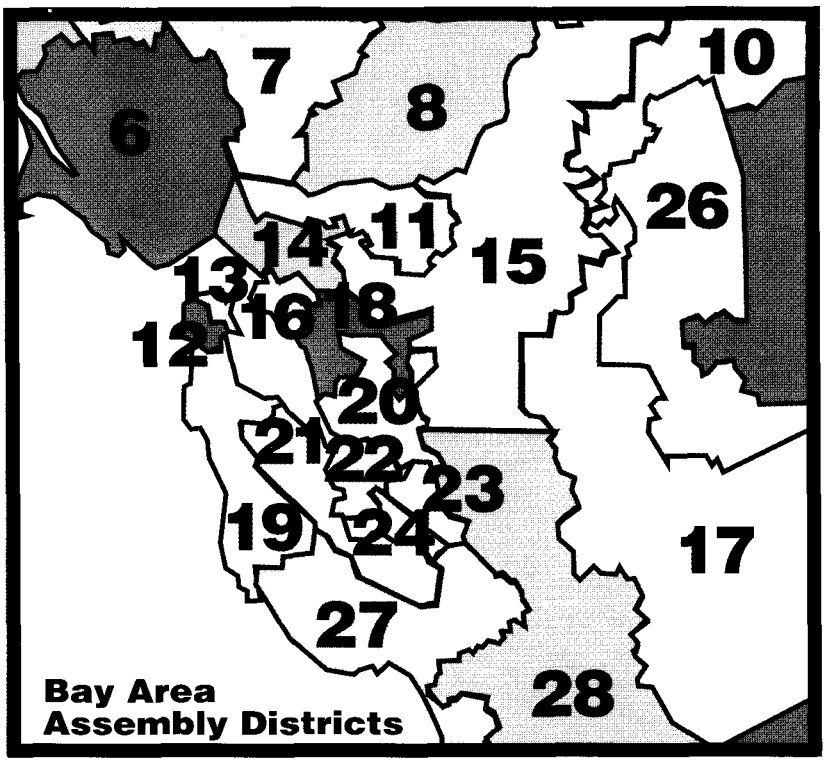
DISTRICT 17 (47% D - 42% R - 9% DS)

Matthews (D*)	**20,868**	**85**
Sweet (D)	3,629	15
Sanchez (R)	5,956	31
McCabe (R)	**12,958**	**69**

This was a relatively quiet primary. The contest this fall promises to generate some heat, however, as both parties have set their sights on the district.

DISTRICT 18 (56% D - 24% R - 15% DS)

Corbett (D*)	**27,339**	**100**
Hovingh (R)	**12,657**	**100**



DISTRICT 19 (51% D - 27% R - 18% DS)

Cassidy (D)	1,685	5
Mullin (D)	**15,632**	**42**
Papan (D)	12,897	35
Pine (D)	7,174	19
Kawas (R)	**14,868**	**100**
Chamberlain (G)	**488**	**100**
Giedt (L)	**222**	**100**

Mullin

Papan

Assm. Lou Papan was first elected to the Assembly back in the pre-term limits dark ages (1972, to be exact), and during an initial tenure that lasted until 1986, he became one of its most powerful members as chairman of the Rules Committee. He returned to an altered universe four years ago and now is termed out. It must be mentioned that the Papan listed among the candidates here is not *Lou* Papan but his daughter, Gina. It must be noted because it often seemed during this campaign that Papan's Democratic opponents were confused on that point. His name was invoked, mostly in the negative, at virtually every opportunity by his daughter's opponents — and by some folks who weren't her opponents but were supporting them. Papan was accused of funneling campaign contributions to his daughter's account in the days before such transfers were made illegal by Prop. 34. He was accused of having accepted money from the evaporated energy giant, Enron. And from Enron's accountant, Arthur Anderson. And from tobacco companies — all of which he subsequently bestowed on Gina. He was accused of trying to strong-arm contributors to fill his daughter's treasury. He was accused of having sexually harassed a staffer. He was accused of strong-arming map-makers to draw the new AD 19 to exclude the home of a popular San Mateo Co. supervisor seen as a threat to his daughter's campaign. And on and on. The chief beneficiary of all this pulp was Gene Mullin, a South San Francisco councilman and retired schoolteacher. Mullin was urged to run by a longtime Papan foe — state Sen. Jackie Speier from nearby Hillsborough, who then helped orchestrate his campaign, secure endorsements from just about every San

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Mateo elected official, and even appear in some of his TV ads. Speier has a personal connection to Mullin (his son served on her Senate staff), making the contest a battle of the clans. Mullin also was helped by more than $100,000 in independent expenditures from trial lawyers, who have never much liked Papan, and by support from labor unions. A third Democratic candidate was David Pine, a high-tech executive who seeded his campaign with $500,000. That translated into $70 per vote, which could have purchased a lot of the pine-scented air fresheners Pine distributed to build name ID. For her part, Gina Papan tried to remind voters that she had a track record of accomplishment that was her own and not her father's. She reminded constituents that she was a deputy attorney general with a record of community service. She could not, however, prevent the election from dissolving into a referendum on Clan Papan. Nor could she ultimately overcome the fact that Mullin was the candidate on the left — an important factor when the folks who vote in a ho-hum election tend to be the party's most organized factions. For Democrats, that meant liberals.

DISTRICT 20 (48% D - 27% R - 20% DS)

Dutra (D*)	**21,151**	**100**
Dow (R)	**12,304**	**100**
Lyon (L)	**177**	**100**

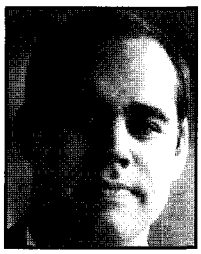
DISTRICT 21 (45% D - 33% R - 18% DS)

Simitian (D*)	**28,968**	**100**
Russell (R)	**22,062**	**100**
Bell (L)	**407**	**100**

DISTRICT 22 (44% D - 30% R - 22% DS)

Lieber (D)	**11,446**	**44**
Diridon (D)	9,304	36
Stasek (D)	5,262	20
Kawczynski (R)	**14,855**	**100**
Watson (L)	**373**	**100**

How not to run a campaign. Rod Diridon Jr. had just about everything a candidate could want. An elective record as a Santa Clara councilman. More than $500,000 in the bank. A list of endorsements that included a pair



Diridon

Lieber

of former San Jose mayors, state Sen. John Vasconcellos, Assm. Fred Keeley and U.S. Trans. Secy. Norm Mineta, a local political icon. He had labor in his camp, from the steamfitters to the California Faculty Assn. And a wealth of name ID thanks to his father, a popular Santa Clara Co. supervisor. In addition, his two primary opponents both split the same elective base in Mountain View, where Sally Lieber and Rosemary Stasek serve on the city council. All of this made Diridon the early favorite. The seat was his to lose. And he did, thanks to what some observers call a bumbling campaign. The general feeling is that Diridon believed polls that showed him comfortably ahead with about a week left in the campaign. As a result, he did not spend for extensive mail over the final eight days, even though he had $100,000 in the bank. Unless you are unopposed, this is an iffy tactic. It was especially so this year, because the 2002 primary was a goofy election. According to several statewide polls, a huge chunk of the electorate remained undecided only a week before Election Day; in that vein, Diridon's margin proved soft. The fact that Diridon virtually went dark gave Lieber an opening, and money and independent expenditures from trial lawyers allowed her to blanket the district with an avalanche of last-minute mail, some of which hit Diridon for accepting tobacco money. Even if polls did show him ahead, Diridon's decision to sit out the last week baffles some observers, who note that Lieber's campaign was managed by Sacramento consultant Richie Ross. As a result, they say, Diridon should have anticipated an eleventh-hour blitz. That he did not smacks of overconfidence or, worse, incompetence.

DISTRICT 23 (53% D - 22% R - 20% DS)

Diaz (D*)	**16,854**	**100**
Bloomberg (G)	**153**	**100**

DISTRICT 24 (46% D - 32% R - 17% DS)

Cohn (D*)	**26,560**	**100**

DISTRICT 25 (39% D - 46% R - 11% DS)

Smith (D)	**18,093**	**71**
Firch (D)	7,261	29
Cogdill (R*)	**34,765**	**100**

DISTRICT 26 (43% D - 45% R - 9% DS)

Weintz (D)	5,447	25
Hallinan (D)	**15,989**	**75**
Aghazarian (R)	**13,402**	**51**
Veldstra (R)	6,663	25
Winn (R)	6,335	24

Aghazarian

A dogfight is brewing in this Central Valley district come November, one that promises to be far more intense than the dual primaries waged this spring. On the Republican side, businessman Greg Aghazarian easily defeated Highway Patrol Capt. Chuck Winn and farmer Rick Veldstra by trafficking on his credible showing two years ago in another Assembly race in the old AD 17. He lost that contest to Democrat Barbara Matthews but ran a strong enough effort to secure significant backing early in this campaign. Area heavyweights Dean Andal, Alex Spanos and Chuck Poochigian all endorsed him, as did the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Assn. and Stockon Mayor Gary Podesta. He also received the nod of the area's most influential newspaper, *The Modesto Bee*. The Democratic victor was Tim Hallinan, a prosecutor from Modesto and an elected community college trustee. Hallinan, who supports the death penalty, is a poster boy for conservative Democrats — an image he plans to emphasize this fall. The incumbent in this district is Dennis Cardoza, the Democrat who defeated Gary Condit in the CD 18 primary. Registration favors Republicans, but that is a formality for Democrats, who do not

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plan to cede the district to Aghazarian.

DISTRICT 27 (43% D - 30% R - 16% DS)		
Laird (D)	**34,134**	**100**
Aguilar (R)	12,136	47
Carter (R)	**13,457**	**53**
Sachtjen (L)	**510**	**100**

DISTRICT 28 (51% D - 31% R - 14% DS)		
Salinas (D*)	**21,968**	**100**
Howard (R)	**14,260**	**100**

DISTRICT 29 (36% D - 51% R - 10% DS)		
Martinez (D)	**17,938**	**100**
Samuelian (R)	**21,067**	**56**
Willey (R)	16,458	44
Zwickel (L)	**147**	**100**

Willey

Ugh. Steve Samuelian, district director for U.S. Rep. George Radanovich, and Larry Willey, a tile company owner, engaged in a primary that makes mud-wrestling look like afternoon tea with the Queen. The pair began lobbing sludge at each other from the very first moment and never let up until the last constituent had buckled on his waders, trudged through the muck, wiped the slime from his ballot and cast a vote. The cannonballs of negativity hurled across the Central Valley by Willey, Samuelian and their various supporters and detractors are too numerous — and frankly, too inane — to recount here (see the February *CJ* for some details). Suffice it to say that none of these verbal hairballs related in the least to legislating or issues of importance in the Central Valley. Instead, each candidate spent a boatload of money to convince Republicans in Fresno and Madera counties that he was the one true conservative and that his opponent was the reincarnated soul of Vlad the Impaler. Likely, the pair only succeeded in reinforcing the notion that character is the first casualty of elective politics and that politicians and 2-year-olds have much in common. In terms of nuts-and-bolts, Samuelian won both of the district's counties, piling up a 3,400-vote margin where it counted most — vote-heavy Fresno. Given that the district is solidly Republican, Samuelian now gets to occupy a seat in the Legislature. All Sacramento is a-quiver.

DISTRICT 30 (48% D - 38% R - 10% DS)		
Crettol (D)	4,724	26
Gallegos (D)	1,782	10
Martin (D)	1,608	9
Parra (D)	**9,885**	**55**
Gardner (R)	**9,450**	**66**
Salazar (R)	4,818	34

Among Democrats, Nicole Parra was the choice of the left; Jim Crettol the choice of the right. That about frames the Democratic primary in this rural Central Valley district, and both camps had endorsements and money to see their effort through to the end. Crettol, who is active and influential in local and state agricultural circles, was championed by current incumbent Dean Florez and by the area's longtime state senator, Jim Costa, who Florez will replace. He also picked up support from business and agricultural groups. Parra, an aide to local U.S. Rep. Cal Dooley and the daughter of popular Kern Co. Supe. Pete Parra, was backed by the United Farm Workers and a host of labor organizations, and by Hispanic lawmakers from other parts of the state. Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante, a Central Valley icon, appeared at her fund raisers. She also drew support from notable legislative liberals, such as state Sen. Sheila Kuehl and Assm. Jackie Goldberg, both of Los Angeles and both gay. Those endorsements allowed Crettol to strut his conservativism when he savaged Parra in a February press release for accepting campaign contributions from "two lesbian members of the Legislature." Although Crettol admitted the language was a "mistake," Parra slammed him as mean-spirited. Meanwhile, she was the beneficiary of a strong independent-expenditure campaign by trial lawyers long at odds with Costa. She also received unexpected help from an odd source, given her liberal credentials: PG&E. Crettol said PG&E weighed in to punish him for his role as president of a statewide agricultural group that opposes efforts to reorganize the bankrupt utility. Whatever the reason, PG&E added icing to the cake as Parra walked off with a significant victory. The biggest voting center is Kern Co., where Parra's father holds sway and where she captured over 60% of the vote. That was more than enough to give her the victory. On the GOP side, Dean Gardner of Bakersfield easily out-polled Jerry Salazar of Delano. With Parra now pegged firmly on the left, the GOP may take a long look at the district come November with the notion that Parra is too liberal and that Crettol's base may be more comfortable voting for a conservative Republican.

Parra

DISTRICT 31 (49% D - 37% R - 10% DS)		
Reyes (D*)	**17,046**	**100**

DISTRICT 32 (32% D - 53% R - 11% DS)		
Shea (D)	**18,268**	**100**
Maggard (R)	21,010	43
McCarthy (R)	**24,523**	**50**
Thomas (R)	3,425	7

When he chooses to engage, Kevin McCarthy's boss has plenty of weight to throw around in the lower Central Valley. In this contest, U.S. Rep. Bill Thomas backed his district director with money and endorsements, which allowed McCarthy the running room to defeat Bakersfield City Councilman Mike Maggard in a hard-fought and close primary. McCarthy used his bigger campaign treasury to blanket the region with billboards and media advertising, and to question Maggard's Republican credentials because of strong support from labor. That Maggard also was endorsed by Howard Ahmanson Jr. and the Jarvis organization didn't carry as much oomph as the fact that labor was manning phone banks on his behalf. That was a powerful message in an election where similar arguments were being made in the GOP primary for governor, and where conservatives were looking for scalps. McCarthy, who has been ac-

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tive in local politics for more than a decade, also had ties to grass-roots organizations throughout the region, enough to offset Maggard's name ID in Bakersfield. McCarthy now will come to Sacramento to replace the district's termed-out incumbent, Republican Roy Ashburn.

DISTRICT 33 (37% D - 44% R - 13% DS)		
Houlgate (D)	**14,224**	**65**
Karr (D)	7,857	36
Maldonado (R*)	**36,745**	**100**

DISTRICT 34 (37% D - 47% R - 12% DS)		
Maze (R)	**27,459**	**100**

Yep. Open seat. Nope. Nobody else bothered to file.

DISTRICT 35 (44% D - 33% R - 16% DS)		
Jackson (D*)	**26,041**	**100**
Pohl (R)	**22,267**	**100**
Thomas (L)	**250**	**100**
Savitch (RF)	**129**	**100**

DISTRICT 36 (38% D - 45% R - 13% DS)		
Bostic (D)	6,313	50
Davenport (D)	**6,414**	**50**
McCauley (R)	2,746	11
Dispenza (R)	3,284	13
Runner (R)	**10,891**	**43**
Wyman (R*)	8,310	33

Bad judgment of the year award goes to... Republican Phil Wyman. When redistricting dismembered his old AD 34, splintering it among three new districts, Wyman could have run in any of the three (AD 32, 34 or 36). After all, in an elective career that has spanned more than two decades, Wyman has never shown much regard for geography. First elected to the Assembly in 1978 from Tehachapi in Kern Co., he served until 1992 when he moved into Los Angeles Co.'s Antelope Valley to run for Congress, losing the GOP primary to Buck McKeon. He moved back to the Bakersfield area in 1993 to run in a special election for the state Senate, winning a seat being vacated by Republican Don Rogers. Redistricting morphed that seat into a Democratic stronghold the next year, and Wyman was defeated by Democrat Jim Costa. He still was entitled to two terms in the Assembly, so he moved again to his ancestral home in Kern to run in the old AD 34 after its incumbent was termed out in 2000. This year, he could have run as the incumbent in the new AD 34, where only one candidate filed. Instead, Wyman chose to make a stand in AD 36. Bad choice. For the past six years, this area has been the province of Assm. George Runner, a termed-out conservative who had already tapped his successor — who also happens to be his wife, Sharon, a political consultant in her own right. Thus did Wyman enter the lion's den, where he was quickly cast as the outsider despite an official listing as an incumbent. Wyman brought an impressive list of conservative endorsements to the fray, including former Gov. George Deukmejian, the NRA, commentator Bruce Herschensohn and Secy. of State Bill Jones. But the race did not turn on conservative credentials or thoughtful debate. It was too nasty and too distanced from issues of consequence. Instead, it increasingly dissolved into a personal feud between Runner and Wyman, with an occasional grenade lobbed by one of the other GOP candidates. The campaign turned ugly almost from the very beginning, with Wyman questioning Runner's integrity and accusing her of lying about the funding source for a December poll. Wyman also accused Runner of hiring a private detective, alleging that the man broke into his apartment to gather evidence that Wyman did not live in the district. Runner denied the allegation, but it generated negative press on the eve of the election. Runner, meanwhile, received a substantial boost from the prison guards' union and from trial lawyers in the form of independent expenditures, which gave her the resources to offset Wyman's fund raising. The district is split between Los Angeles and San Bernardino counties, which proved something of a handicap to Wyman, who has spent the bulk of his career representing Kern. As a result, all the conservative endorsements in the world couldn't save him from the tag as a carpetbagger. The lion's share of GOP votes are provided by Los Angeles Co., and Runner made her best showing where it counted, defeating Wyman there by 2,200 votes. Although she also won San Bernardino Co., her margin there was less than 400 votes. Thus, the on-again, off-again legislative career of Phil Wyman is off ... again.

DISTRICT 37 (35% D - 46% R - 14% DS)		
Thomas (D)	**18,993**	**100**
Duzick (R)	4,383	12
Strickland (R*)	**33,710**	**89**

DISTRICT 38 (36% D - 45% R - 14% DS)		
Calderon (D)	**16,006**	**100**
Richman (R*)	**27,432**	**100**
Lembke (L)	**270**	**100**

DISTRICT 39 (61% D - 20% R - 15% DS)		
Montanez (D)	**12,499**	**66**
Fuentes (D)	6,504	34
Ayao (R)	**4,789**	**100**

Score one for Richard Alarcon. The ambitious state senator backed Cindy Montanez, 28-year-old mayor of San Fernando, in her quest to succeed Alarcon's local rival — Assm. Tony Cardenas, who was termed out and running for Los Angeles City Council. Cardenas backed his district director, Yolanda Fuentes, making the race a skirmish in the ongoing feud between two powerful Hispanic camps. Montanez out-raised Fuentes and pulled in a huge list of endorsements from the likes of Antonio Villaraigosa, Martha Escutia, Gloria Molina, Hilda Solis, Gil Cedillo, Gloria Romero and Xavier Becerra. She also started with an elective base in San Fernando that Fuentes could not match. San Fernando is small, but it does provide some 5,000 registered Democrats. For her part, Fuentes was backed by former Spkr. Bob Hertzberg, City Council Pres. Alex Padilla and state Sen. Richard Polanco. With no significant issues separating the candidates, this became a war to be won on the ground with lawn signs, precinct walkers and get-out-the-vote efforts on Election Day. Unfortunately for Fuentes, her main benefactor — Cardenas — was preoccupied with his own council race against Wendy Greuel, which ended up in a virtual dead heat and was undecided at this writing. In the end,

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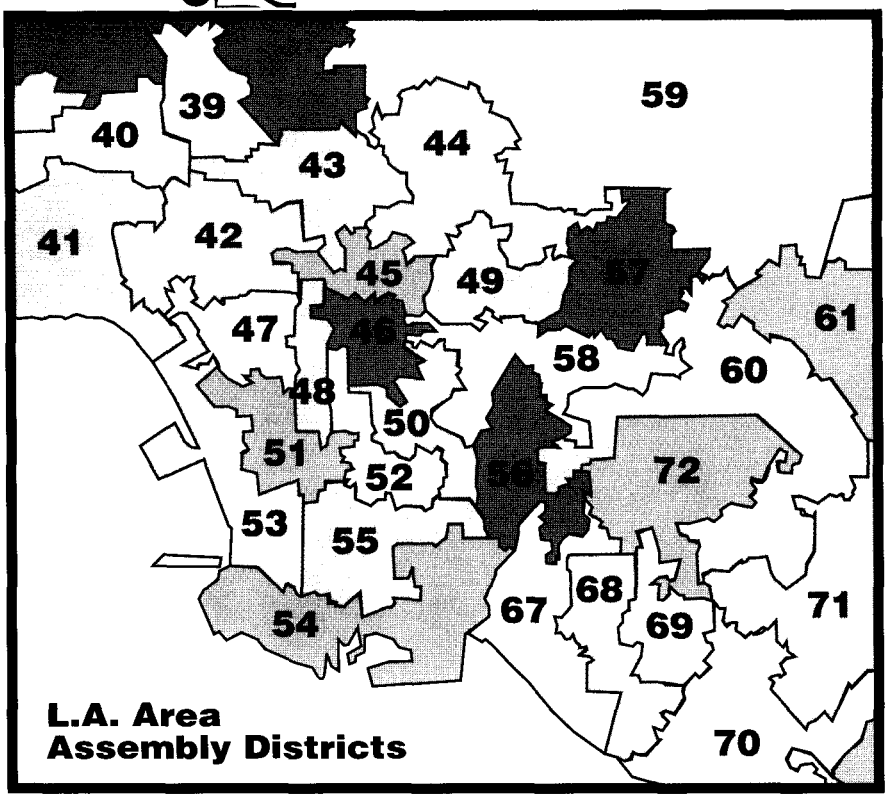
the Alarcon forces out-hustled those of Cardenas, creating a relatively easy win for Montanez.

DISTRICT 40 (49% D - 31% R - 16% DS)		
Cherny (D)	9,272	45
Levine (D)	**11,533**	**56**
Friedman (R)	**12,101**	**100**

Do not score one for Bob Hertzberg.

Cherny

Levine



L.A. Area Assembly Districts

The termed-out former speaker of the Assembly put his full weight behind Andrei Cherny — the 26-year-old boy wonder who tried to parlay his involvement with the New Democratic movement and a to-die-for list of endorsements in to a seat in the Legislature. Cherny was opposed by Lloyd Levine, 32, son of local political consultant and activist Larry Levine. In truth, neither candidate had much recent connection with the San Fernando Valley. Both were raised in the area, but each had long since sought fame and fortune elsewhere, returning only recently to run for office. Cherny spent most of his young career on the East Coast, while Levine has been working in Sacramento as legislative director for Assm. John Longville of Rialto. As a result, the carpetbagging issue was muted. What was not muted were their differences on issues. Cherny, especially, was handicapped by being a so-called New Democrat in an election where the Democrats' liberal base provided the biggest voting bloc. Evidence of Cherny's centrist philosophy had been set down in a book he wrote on the future of public life. In that book, he supported school vouchers and tort reform, which brought labor, teachers and trial lawyers steaming into the Levine camp, armed with independent expenditures and plenty of Election Day volunteers. Trial lawyers, especially, pumped money into electing Levine as payback to Hertzberg who, as a pro-business legislator, often crossed swords with trial lawyers. More significant, Cherny's book promoted the privatization of Social Security, a notion praised by the likes of Newt Gingrich but considered heresy among liberal Democrats. The Cherny camp was so worried about this that it sent out several mailers defending its candidate's position before the Levine forces had even hit him with it. Cherny and Levine also differed on the simmering issue of Valley secession. Cherny supports it; Levine opposes it. The campaign became increasingly intense and negative as Election Day approached. The low point was reached in late February when Cherny accused Levine forces of stealing a copy of a mailer. Levine threatened to sue for libel over language in the mailer — just one of several mailers Levine claimed were slanderous. Cherny also sent out a mailer that some charged was racist and false because it pointed out that Levine worked for a "south central legislator" (translation: black) and because it accused Levine of being squishy on the issue of choice. Levine, in turn, savaged Cherny for accepting tobacco money — the result of an independent expenditure on Cherny's behalf from JOBS PAC, which received a sizable contribution from Philip Morris. The ultimate loser here may not have been Cherny but Hertzberg, who strong-armed other candidates out of the race to benefit Cherny, then tried to distance himself from Cherny when it became increasingly clear that Cherny would lose. Hertzberg actually spent Election Night in the Central Valley, holding hands with an old ally who had just defeated Gary Condit in a congressional primary.

DISTRICT 41 (49% D - 31% R - 15% DS)		
Pavley (D*)	**27,640**	**100**
Wissot (R)	**19,133**	**100**
Kelly (L)	**272**	**100**

DISTRICT 42 (55% D - 22% R - 18% DS)		
Koretz (D*)	**29,687**	**100**
Bissiri (R)	**12,029**	**100**

DISTRICT 43 (46% D - 33% R - 17% DS)		
Frommer (D*)	**17,043**	**100**
Geyer (R)	**13,893**	**100**
Woren (L)	**187**	**100**

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DISTRICT 44 (47% D - 34% R - 15% DS)

Liu (D*)	**21,078**	**100**
O'Connell (R)	**20,949**	**100**
New (L)	**188**	**100**

Republicans are said to be pleased that their candidate received nearly as many votes as incumbent Carol Liu. Something could brew here this fall.

DISTRICT 45 (61% D - 16% R - 17% DS)

Goldberg (D*)	**14,372**	**100**
Cook (L)	**89**	**100**

DISTRICT 46 (69% D - 12% R - 14% DS)

Martin (D)	1,970	11
Nunez (D)	**10,192**	**58**
Carrillo (D)	5,529	31
Aldana (R)	**1,655**	**100**

Labor official Fabian Nunez was the No.1 priority for the Los Angeles Co. Federation of Labor, and it showed. He had an impressive list of endorsements (Assm. Spkr. Herb Wesson, former Spkr. Bob Hertzberg, Gloria Romero, Roy Romer), an effective ground operation and plenty of cash. Some estimate that as much as $1.5 million may have been spent by various sources on Nunez's behalf, with so much "stuff" sent into area mailboxes in the form of pot holders and magnets that one wag labeled Nunez's effort a "dry goods" campaign. The combination proved too much for Pedro Carrillo, chief of staff to Rep. Lucy Roybal-Allard. In what became an increasingly negative campaign, Carrillo tried to paint Nunez as a carpetbagger, challenging whether he actually lived in the district. He also circulated a letter calling for an FBI investigation of Nunez's connection with an immigration center. Despite the bad publicity, Nunez won handily.

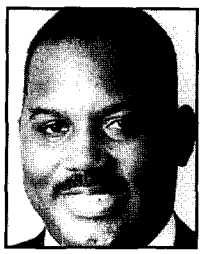
DISTRICT 47 (67% D - 13% R - 15% DS)

Wesson (D*)	**31,655**	**100**
Leonard (R)	**5,158**	**100**
Clemens (L)	**125**	**100**

DISTRICT 48 (74% D - 9% R - 12% DS)

Ridley-Thomas (D)	**11,509**	**48**
Garcia (D)	1,959	8
Davis (D)	10,478	44
Robinson (R)	**1,398**	**100**
Herdegen (L)	**19**	**100**

This was supposed to be a walk-over for Mark Ridley-Thomas, a member of the Los Angeles City Council. He had all the money in the world and a killer list of endorsements. What he did not have — and likely will never, ever have — is backing from one of the area's most powerful political figures, U.S. Rep. Maxine Waters. While many of her allies sat on the sidelines, Waters waded into the contest on behalf of Mike Davis, an aide to L.A. Co. Supe. Yvonne Burke, providing him with the resources to be competitive. Waters and Burke are the two most influential African American politicians in Los Angeles, and their combined prestige — coupled with Waters' willingness to get her hands dirty — gave Davis the chance to take advantage of the low turnout, where most of the voters were strong party partisans and mostly from the left. The result was a very narrow victory for Ridley-Thomas, who now succeeds the termed-out Rod Wright.



Davis

Ridley-Thomas

DISTRICT 49 (49% D - 27% R - 20% DS)

Chu (D*)	**12,683**	**100**
Shen (R)	**8,594**	**100**

DISTRICT 50 (64% D - 18% R - 13% DS)

Firebaugh (D*)	**12,037**	**100**
Gilson (R)	2,205	48
Miller (R)	**2,347**	**52**

DISTRICT 51 (65% D - 17% R - 13% DS)

Horton (D*)	**18,802**	**100**

DISTRICT 52 (74% D - 8% R - 10% DS)

Dymally (D)	**9,796**	**52**
Hill (D)	3,137	17
Martinez (D)	4,293	23
Gallardo-Rooker (D)	1,662	9
Iles (R)	**1,240**	**100**

Merv Dymally was first elected to the Assembly 40 years ago. During the intervening years, he served as lieutenant governor under Jerry Brown and several terms in Congress. He's now 75 and is entitled to a full three terms in the Assembly and two more in the Senate. Dymally had the backing of Spkr. Herb Wesson and former Spkr. Bob Hertzberg, and Senate Pres. pro Tem. John Burton, as well as financial support from several large independent expenditure campaigns. As a result, the ABM Movement (Anybody But Merv) produced no steam, generated no traction and went nowhere. He replaces Democrat Carl Washington, who was termed out.

DISTRICT 53 (42% D - 35% R - 17% DS)

Nakano (D*)	**23,963**	**100**
Wilson (R)	**21,328**	**100**

DISTRICT 54 (45% D - 36% R - 14% DS)

Lowenthal (D*)	**20,740**	**100**
Castellanos (R)	**21,911**	**100**

The Republican candidate received more votes than Democratic incumbent Alan Lowenthal. As a result, Republicans may feel as though a full-court press is warranted here in November. It would be a mistake.

DISTRICT 55 (57% D - 24% R - 14% DS)

Oropeza (D*)	**17,185**	**100**
Wilson (L)	**105**	**100**

DISTRICT 56 (52% D - 29% R - 15% DS)

Davis (D)	1,799	9
Bermudez (D)	**11,119**	**55**
Flowers (D)	7,368	36
Brantuk (R)	**11,258**	**100**

Bermudez

Norwalk City Councilman Rudy Bermudez outspent his rivals nearly 2-to-1 in winning the seat vacated by the termed-out Sally Havice. Bermudez had potent advantages going into the race, including the fact that his elective base in Norwalk was substantially larger than the base of his chief rival — Artesia Councilwoman Sally Zuinga Flowers. He also had strong support from labor groups, including teachers and firefighters. The result was something of a blow-out.

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DISTRICT 57 (52% D - 30% R - 14% DS)		
Chavez (D*)	**14,263**	**100**
Pimentel (R)	3,303	34
Moll (R)	**6,428**	**66**
Faegre (L)	**75**	**100**

DISTRICT 58 (56% D - 27% R - 13% DS)		
Calderon (D)	**11,070**	**46**
Zuniga (D)	3,207	13
Fuentes (D)	9,700	41
Butler (R)	**11,034**	**100**

Clan Calderon batted .500 on Election Day. Brother Tom finished a dismal third in the statewide race for insurance commissioner. Brother Ron, on the other hand, won the Democratic nomination to replace Tom in the Assembly, defeating Chuck Fuentes — district aide to U.S. Rep. Grace Napolitano. Calderon had plenty of backing from Sacramento, as well as strong support from the insurance industry, and some independent expenditure campaigns from the moderate Democratic JOBS PAC and from Californians United (Gallo, SEIU and Duke Energy). Fuentes, too, had independent help from trial lawyers, conservation voters and nurses, as well as a key endorsement from Los Angeles Mayor James Hahn. Trial lawyers, especially, hammered at Calderon. But Fuentes had trouble overcoming the Calderon name. Ron is the third Calderon brother to represent the area in the Legislature (following Chuck and Tom), and area lawn signs portrayed the family name in large bold letters. Ron's name was in small letters, so that voters may not have been sure which Calderon was running. The campaign went mildly negative, with Fuentes accused of carpetbagging because he recently moved back from Washington, D.C., to run. Calderon was hit much harder over contributions from the tobacco and insurance industries.

DISTRICT 59 (35% D - 47% R - 13% DS)		
Smith (D)	**17,184**	**100**
Mountjoy (R*)	**33,192**	**100**

DISTRICT 60 (32% D - 49% R - 15% DS)		
Martinez (D)	**13,756**	**100**
Pacheco (R*)	**29,735**	**100**

DISTRICT 61 (51% D - 32% R - 13% DS)		
McLeod (D*)	**11,868**	**100**
Munson (R)	**9,757**	**100**

DISTRICT 62 (58% D - 27% R - 10% DS)		
Longville (D*)	**12,022**	**100**
Scott (R)	**5,604**	**100**

DISTRICT 63 (39% D - 45% R - 12% DS)		
Wallace (D)	**14,098**	**100**
Peppler (R)	9,719	38
Dutton (R)	**11,286**	**45**
Stavros (R)	4,362	17

Another example of a moderate losing to a conservative in a Republican primary. Redlands City Councilwoman Susan Peppler had an impressive record as a local elected official, but Bob Dutton had conservative endorsements and a prominent name in local GOP politics; his father is a generous Republican donor. As a result, Peppler was undone by the demographics of this particular electorate.

DISTRICT 64 (35% D - 49% R - 12% DS)		
Melsh (D)	**8,275**	**53**
Padilla (D)	7,377	47
Benoit (R)	**15,529**	**56**
Monville (R)	12,207	44

Benoit

Monville

In what must be considered an anomaly in this Republican "year of the conservative," the candidate with the strongest conservative pedigree — and who also had the highest name ID — did not win due to a small technicality: He was thrown off the ballot. That candidate was Ray Horspool, who was backed by just about every conservative in the region. Unfortunately, Horspool lives in Yucaipa. Which is in AD 65. Horspool contended that he was registered to vote in Riverside, in AD 64, where he does business as a CPA, but a court disagreed and ordered his name removed from the ballot. The Horspool fracas was just

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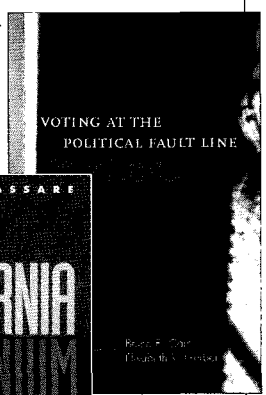

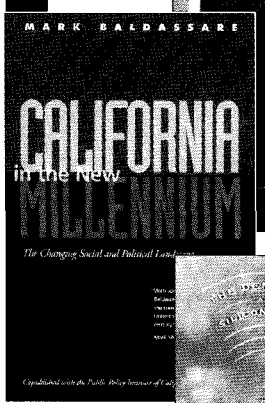

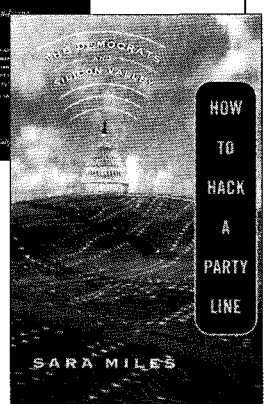

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one more incident in an ongoing series of squabbles between conservative and moderate factions of the Inland Empire Republican Party, but it served to reduce the primary ballot from three candidates to two. The prime beneficiary of Horspool's demise was thought to be Lou Monville, a 29-year-old public-relations executive aligned with moderates Rod Pacheco, Russ Bogh and Bill Postmus. But the squabbling over Horspool's status cast a shadow over Monville's candidacy, given that conservatives blamed his allies for Horspool's disqualification. Thus, the true beneficiary became John Benoit, a retired Highway Patrol captain who hails from the district's desert region. Horspool's allies on the right — state Sen. Ray Haynes and Assm. Dennis Hollingsworth, as well as Horspool himself — got behind Benoit. Equally as important, Benoit, identified on the ballot as a former CHP officer, benefitted from his law-enforcement background in a county known to vote for law-and-order candidates. That designation more than offset Monville support from police unions and the *Riverside Press Enterprise*. Both sides went negative at the end. Monville sent out a mailer that accused Benoit of having been the subject of a sexual harassment suit while with a CHP supervisor. A negative hit on Monville also appeared in a mailer that did not identify a source or sponsor and is now under investigation.

DISTRICT 65 (37% D - 47% R - 11% DS)		
Scholes (D)	**16,937**	**100**
Bogh (R*)	**28,106**	**100**

DISTRICT 66 (30% D - 52% R - 13% DS)		
Brostrom (D)	**10,478**	**100**
Haynes (R)	**25,376**	**100**

State Sen. Ray Haynes spent this primary season helping fellow conservatives. Termed out of the Senate, he is returning for one more term in the Assembly and is swapping seats with Assm. Dennis Hollingsworth.

DISTRICT 67 (33% D - 48% R - 15% DS)		
Orton (D)	**18,853**	**100**
Harman (R*)	**35,734**	**100**

DISTRICT 68 (35% D - 45% R - 16% DS)		
Snook (D)	**13,792**	**100**
Maddox (R*)	**25,339**	**100**
Scribner (L)	**338**	**100**

DISTRICT 69 (52% D - 31% R - 13% DS)		
Correa (D*)	**9,709**	**100**
Ross (R)	**7,587**	**100**

DISTRICT 70 (28% D - 52% R - 16% DS)		
Kane (D)	**19,817**	**100**
Campbell (R*)	**47,064**	**100**
Studier (L)	**467**	**100**

DISTRICT 71 (28% D - 55% D - 14% DS)		
Foster (D)	**14,739**	**100**
Spitzer (R)	**38,271**	**100**

DISTRICT 72 (33% D - 49% R - 13% DS)		
Nanjundappa (D)	**15,026**	**100**
Daucher (R*)	**29,639**	**100**
Cross (L)	**280**	**100**

DISTRICT 73 (28% D - 51% R - 16% DS)		
Calzada (D)	**15,972**	**100**
Bates (R*)	**38,315**	**100**
Vondruska (L)	**367**	**100**

DISTRICT 74 (30% D - 47% R - 17% DS)		
Herrera (D)	**15,799**	**100**
Wyland (R*)	**32,339**	**100**
Stone (L)	**289**	**100**

DISTRICT 75 (30% D - 47% R - 19% DS)		
Witt (D)	**15,694**	**100**
Plescia (R)	**10,362**	**30**
Sheldon (R)	3,117	9
Stein (R)	4,481	10
Roache (R)	9,055	26
Pfeiler (R)	9,306	27
Senecal (L)	**309**	**100**

This is another race where conservative voting power, driven to the polls by the GOP primary for governor and an intense state Senate contest, turned the tide. George Plescia was the identified conservative, and he emerged atop a large field of Republican hopefuls that included two candidates with impressive records at winning elections: Jim Roache, the former sheriff of San Diego Co., and Lori Pfeiler, the mayor of Escondido. Plescia has never been elected to office, but he profited from backing by area conservatives, including his boss, state Sen. Bill Morrow. He also benefitted from the wattage generated by an overlapping state Senate primary where conservative Assm. Dennis Hollingsworth beat moderate Assm. Charlene Zettel.

DISTRICT 76 (41% D - 34% R - 18% DS)		
Kehoe (D*)	**24,533**	**100**
Divine (R)	**21,085**	**100**
Baker (L)	**334**	**100**

DISTRICT 77 (32% D - 47% R - 16% DS)		
Lowery (D)	**15,581**	**100**
LaSuer (R*)	**32,501**	**100**
Hall (L)	**298**	**100**

DISTRICT 78 (42% D - 36% R - 16% DS)		
Hall (D)	**9,224**	**37**
Cohelan (D)	4,329	17
McIntosh (D)	1,767	7
Sherard (D)	1,708	7
Stevens (D)	8,153	32
Mendoza (R)	6,669	30
Horton (R)	**15,389**	**70**
Menanno (L)	**166**	**100**

Capitol Democrats wanted Vince Hall as their nominee. Well, most Capitol Democrats. One who did not — no offense to Vince Hall — was Senate Pres. pro Tem. John Burton of San Francisco. He wanted Tim Cohelan, not because Cohelan would be the best candidate, or because he fit the district well, or would make a good legislator — all of which may be true. Burton wanted Cohelan because he is a nephew by marriage and shares Burton's liberal philosophy. As a result, Cohelan had a well-funded campaign that saw, among other things, trial lawyers drop more than $200,000 behind his campaign in the two weeks preceding Election Day. But Hall, too, had a large treasury and the kind of clout and endorsements that come to a candidate who once served as staff director to Gov. Gray Davis and who also once worked for the area's congressman — Democrat Bob Filner. Both Hall and Cohelan needed large treasuries to match the name ID that the third major Democratic candidate enjoyed from the outset. George Stevens, a Baptist minister who currently is the only African American on the San Diego City Council, began the contest as an early front-runner, thanks to his wide name recognition.

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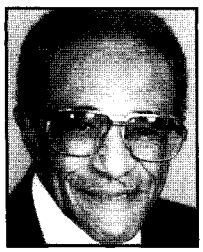
Hall


Stevens

But some Capitol Democrats were concerned that a primary victory by the pro-life Stevens might spell disaster in November, fearing that independent-minded district voters might be more comfortable with Chula Vista Mayor Shirley Horton, who won the GOP primary. There also was some concern that Cohelan might be too far to the left for a San Diego district with a marginal registration edge. Thus, they made sure that Hall had all the resources necessary to win. On issues, Hall staked out the center, painting Cohelan as too close to trial lawyers. He also accused Cohelan of carpetbagging into the district just to run for office. Despite the influx of cash, Cohelan's campaign never generated much traction, and he finished a distant third. The underfunded Stevens saw his effort falter once the Hall campaign's media buys hit San Diego airwaves. Unlike other venues where the primary settled matters, electoral fireworks likely will continue in this district. Horton is said to be among the strongest Republican candidates in the state, a moderate woman who fits the district better than Hall, and Democrats openly worry that the seat may slip away.

DISTRICT 79 (47% D - 31% R - 16% DS)		
Vargas (D*)	**15,019**	**100**
Fast (R)	**10,416**	**100**
Castro (L)	**90**	**100**

DISTRICT 80 (47% D - 35% R - 14% DS)		
Pettis (D)	4,240	20
Saucedo (D)	1,943	9
Acuna (D)	**14,870**	**71**
Nevenic (R)	777	5
Garcia (R)	**10,143**	**59**
Miles (R)	1,778	10
Pena (R)	4,383	26

This district was drawn to accommodate a Hispanic. The question: Will it be a Latina Republican or Latino Democrat? On the Republican side, Bonnie Garcia easily brushed aside three opponents, thanks to strong backing from her boss — state Sen. Jim Battin. She had money, endorsements, ground operation and Battin — more than enough to outdistance La Quinta Mayor John Pena. The Democratic primary was more intriguing, however. Joey Acuna is a perennial in this part of the south state, having run — and lost — two years ago against AD 80 incumbent Dave Kelley, a Republican who is retiring. Acuna is not an exciting campaigner, but he was the candidate of choice for Capitol Democrats who are worried about capturing a district that was drawn for them. Although it was never stated publicly, there were private concerns that one of the Democrats — Cathedral City Mayor Gary Pettis — could not win this rural desert district because he is gay. More important was the need to nominate a Hispanic to face Garcia in a 60% Latino district. Latino lawmakers, especially, rallied to Acuna's flag, dispatching Sacramento consultant Ritchie Ross to advise the campaign. The primary now sets up what promises to be a very expensive donnybrook come November.

The "Shadow" Assembly: Members who likely will serve in 2002-2004

AD	Legislator	Party	AD	Legislator	Party	AD	Legislator	Party	AD	Legislator	Party
1	**Patty Berg**	**D**	21	Joe Simitian	D	41	Fran Pavley	D	61	Gloria McLeod	D
2	**Doug La Malfa**	**R**	**22**	**Sally Lieber**	**D**	42	Paul Koretz	D	62	John Longville	D
3	**Rick Keene**	**R**	23	Manny Diaz	D	43	Dario Frommer	D	63	Bob Dutton	R
4	Tim Leslie	R	24	Rebecca Cohn	D	*44	Carol Liu	D	**64**	**John Benoit**	**R**
5	Dave Cox	R	25	Dave Cogdill	R	45	Jackie Goldberg	D	65	Russ Bogh	R
6	Joe Nation	D	***26**	**Greg Aghazarian**	**R**	**46**	**Fabian Nunez**	**D**	**66**	**Ray Haynes**	**R**
7	Pat Wiggins	D	27	John Laird	D	47	Herb Wesson	D	67	Tom Harman	R
8	**Lois Wolk**	**D**	28	Simon Salinas	D	**48**	**M.Ridley-Thomas**	**D**	68	Ken Maddox	R
9	Darrell Steinberg	D	***29**	**Steve Samuelian**	**R**	49	Judy Chu	D	69	Lou Correa	D
***10**	**Alan Nakanishi**	**R**	***30**	**Nicole Parra**	**D**	50	Marco Firebaugh	D	70	John Campbell	R
11	Joe Canciamilla	D	31	Sarah Reyes	D	51	Jerome Horton	D	**71**	**Todd Spitzer**	**R**
12	Leland Yee	D	**32**	**Kevin McCarthy**	**R**	**52**	**Merv Dymally**	**D**	72	Lynn Daucher	R
13	Mark Leno	D	33	Abel Maldonado	R	53	George Nakano	D	73	Pat Bates	R
14	Loni Hancock	D	**34**	**Bill Maze**	**R**	54	Alan Lowenthal	D	74	Mark Wyland	R
***15**	**Guy Houston**	**R**	35	Hannah Jackson	D	55	Jenny Oropeza	D	**75**	**George Plescia**	**R**
16	Wilma Chan	D	**36**	**Sharon Runner**	**R**	**56**	**Rudy Bermundez**	**D**	76	Christine Kehoe	D
*17	Barbara Matthews	D	37	Tony Strickland	R	57	Ed Chavez	D	77	Jay La Suer	R
18	Ellen Corbett	D	38	Keith Richmond	R	**58**	**Ron Calderon**	**D**	***78**	**Vince Hall**	**D**
19	**Gene Mullin**	**D**	39	Cindy Montanez	D	59	Dennis Mountjoy	R	79	Juan Vargas	D
20	John Dutra	D	**40**	**Lloyd Levine**	**D**	60	Bob Pacheco	R	***80**	**Joey Acuna Jr.**	**D**

*A hot race expected in November

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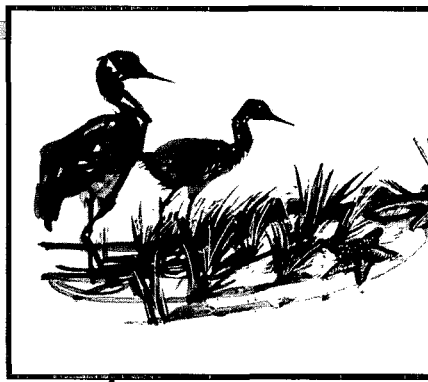
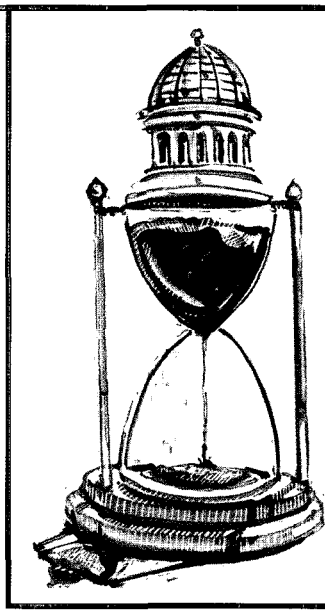
Propositions

Proposition 40: Environmental Bonds		
Yes	**2,575,769**	**57%**
No	1,949,025	43%
Proposition 41: Voting Modernization Act		
Yes	**2,302,396**	**52%**
No	2,155,597	48%
Proposition 42: Transportation Funding		
Yes	**3,102,171**	**69%**
No	1,398,377	31%
Proposition 43: Voting		
Yes	**3,138,960**	**72%**
No	1,255,212	29%
Proposition 44: Chiropractic Fraud		
Yes	**3,484,806**	**80%**
No	892,690	20%
Proposition 45: Term Limits		
Yes	1,897,991	42%
No	**2,582,996**	**58%**





The 2002 primary contained only six ballot measures, making it one of the leanest in recent years. Five of those measures (Props. 40 through 44) came out of the Legislature, while the sixth (Prop. 45) was the ballot's lone initiative. As an attempt to soften the state's term-limit law, Prop. 45 also was the only measure to fail.

Three of the Legislature's proposals drew significant attention.

Prop. 40 authorizes $2.6 billion in general obligation bonds, with the proceeds to be used for the environment, such as for rivers, parks, water quality, beaches, open space, wildlife habitat, historical restoration and improved air quality. Environmental groups, of course, supported it, as did the American Farmland Trust. Many cities also backed it because the measure earmarked money for specific projects throughout the state. It also gained many newspaper endorsements, and backers had a $4 million war chest, enough to send out a series of glitzy mailers and buy TV time. Although some taxpayer groups opposed the measure, no organized opposition materialized and no money was raised to defeat it. As a result, Prop. 40 passed with 57 percent of the vote in an election that drew conservative Republicans to the polls — just the voters who traditionally oppose this kind of spending.

Prop. 41 was another bond measure, with proceeds designed to help counties pay for modernizing voting machines. Prior to the election, a state court had declared punch-card ballots unconstitutional; the same voting system at the center of the Florida presidential debacle in 2000 and still in use in many California counties. As a result, punch-card systems must be replaced before the 2004 election, an expensive outlay for cash-strapped counties and one that made passage of Prop. 41 an imperative. No organized opposition surfaced, and proponents raised only $100,000, relying on positive free media to put out its message. Prop. 41 passed, but barely. Not only that, but voters approved it in only 15 of the state's 58 counties. It lost by substantial margins in rural northstate counties, and even lost in Sacramento. But the counties that did approve it carried voting heft and included Los Angeles, Riverside, Fresno and the 10 counties that touch San Francisco Bay.

Prop. 42, on the other hand, was approved in every county in the state. Backed by both business and labor, it mandated that taxes collected on the sale of gasoline and other motor-vehicle fuels be spent exclusively for transportation projects rather than mingled with the state's general fund, as is now the case. These are not gasoline taxes — which currently may only be used for transportation; they are sales taxes on gasoline. The "Yes on 42" campaign was backed by a broad coalition of groups, including the California Taxpayers' Assn., California Transit Assn., various regional and local planning commissions, the California Chamber of Commerce, the California Business Roundtable and a wide range of unions — especially in the construction trades. The measure did generate significant opposition, but the "no" forces were mostly silent until a few weeks before Election Day when they dropped mail and began running radio ads. The oomph behind that effort came from the California Teachers' Assn., which argued that Prop. 42 tied up money that otherwise could be spent on education and health care. Given the final tally, it was

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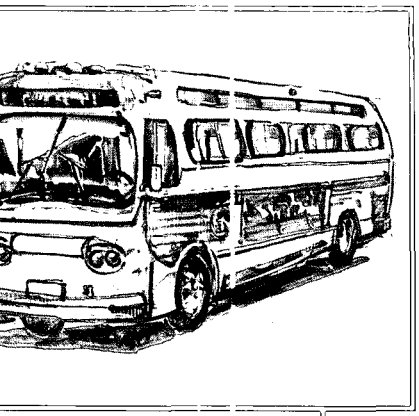

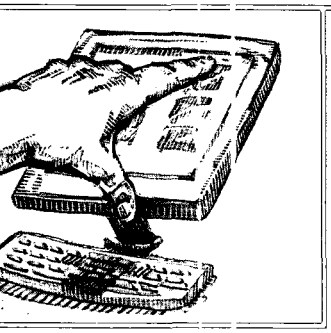

a message that failed to resonate with voters.

Props. 43 and 44 were obscure measures from the Legislature, and each passed. Prop. 43 declared that a voter who casts a vote in an election in accord with the laws of California shall have that vote counted. In other words, no deadline may be imposed from any source that would stop a legally cast vote from being tallied. Prop. 44, on the other hand, amended the Chiropractic Act to include various infractions and penalties for insurance fraud.

And then there was Prop. 45, the initiative that would have tweaked term-limit restrictions for members of the Legislature. It was sponsored by, among others, Senate Pres. pro Tem. John Burton (D-San Francisco) and was designed to give constituents in each Senate and Assembly district the chance to extend — by one term — the career of their district's lawmaker. As such, the battle lines were clearly drawn. Democrats generally favored the proposal, and the effort to pass it was bolstered by more than $3 million from the Democratic Party, which was joined by public-employee unions such as prison guards and teachers. Not every prominent Democrat climbed aboard, however. Gov. Gray Davis remained neutral. Republicans mostly opposed the measure, with all three gubernatorial challengers coming out against it, as did Arizona U.S. Sen. John McCain. The lion's share of funding for the "no" campaign came from a national term-limits organization in Wisconsin, which chipped in over $1 million.

If money was the deciding factor, Prop. 45 would have passed easily, since proponents held a 9-to-1 edge in fund raising. But Prop. 45 had no real chance to pass, given the atmospherics. Republicans were motivated to vote by the race for governor. Democrats, on the other hand, had precious little to bring them out — and a term-limits initiative just didn't have the heft or swirl of, say, one aimed at illegal immigrants or affirmative action.

As a result, Prop. 45 lost by 700,000 votes statewide. The "yes" side carried only two counties: Los Angeles (with 51%) and San Francisco (with 53%) — nowhere near enough of a margin to offset losing in 56 other counties. In some rural north-state counties, Prop. 45 barely managed 30% of the vote.

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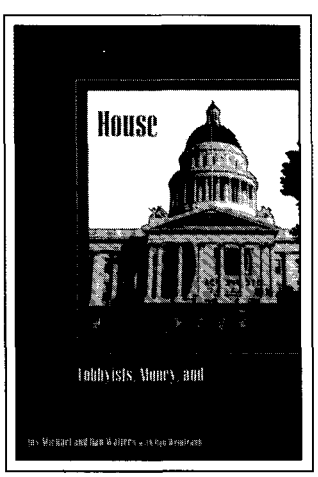

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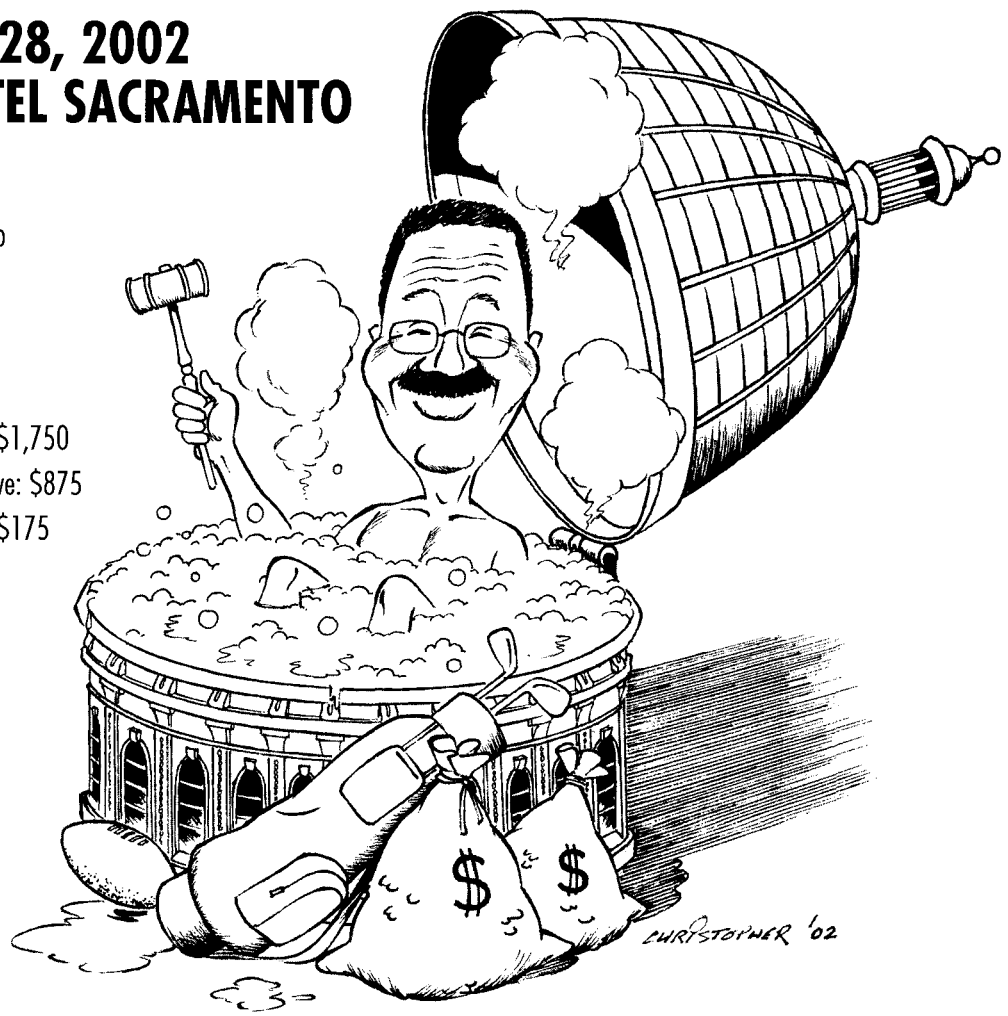

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The California Voter v. 2002

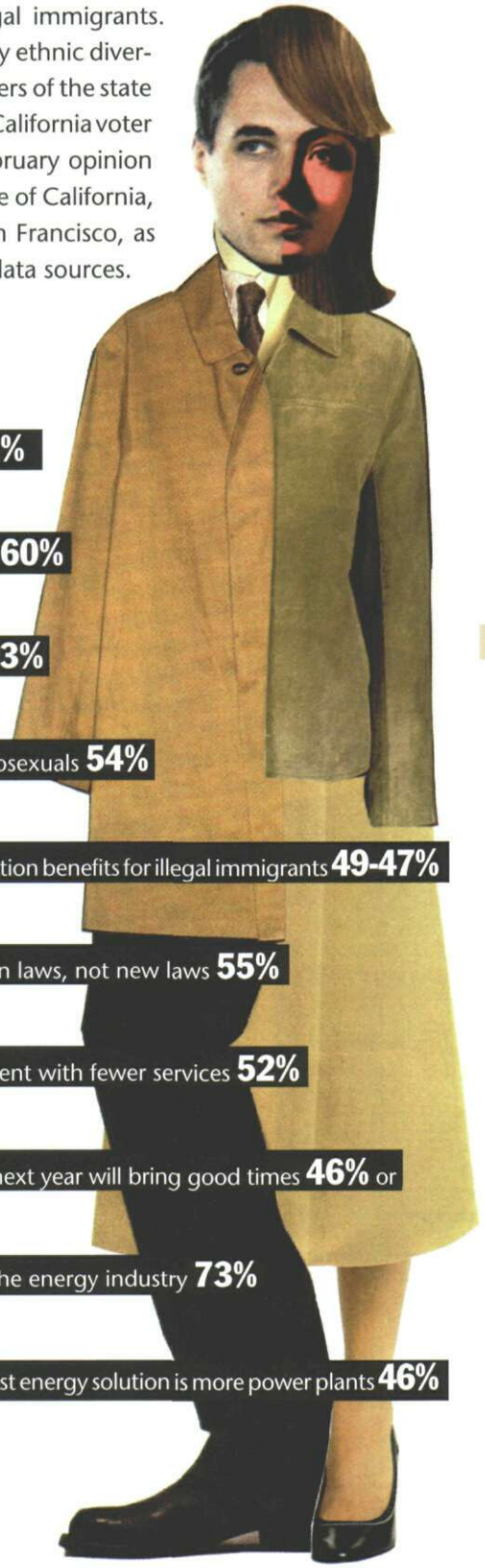
ELECTION ★2002

public opinions

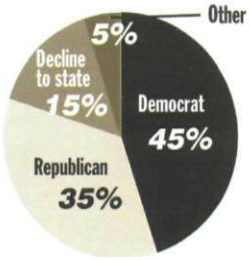
crosstabs

71%
Registered rate. 15.3 million registered voters out of 21.5 million eligible

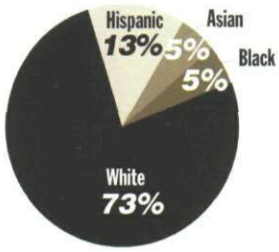
If the California electorate looked in the mirror it would see a complex and sometimes inconsistent image. It favors environmental laws, but also small government. It is sharply divided on critical issues like energy solutions and benefits for illegal immigrants. And it is increasingly enriched by ethnic diversity. There are 15 million members of the state electorate. This snapshot of the California voter is based on the results of a February opinion poll by the Public Policy Institute of California, a nonpartisan think tank in San Francisco, as well as U.S. Census and other data sources.



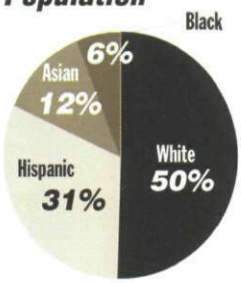
Party registration



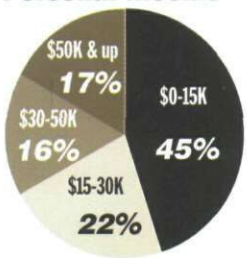
Electorate



Population



Personal income



Sources: *Los Angeles Times* 11/00, U.S. Census 2000, California Secretary of State

I am pro choice on abortion **71%**

I want strict environmental laws **60%**

I don't like offshore oil drilling **53%**

I want more protection for homosexuals **54%**

I am divided about health & education benefits for illegal immigrants **49-47%**

I want better enforcement of gun laws, not new laws **55%**

I lean toward a smaller government with fewer services **52%**

I am divided about whether the next year will bring good times **46%** or bad times **47%**

I want government to regulate the energy industry **73%**

I am divided about whether the best energy solution is more power plants **46%** or more conservation **48%**

PPIC STATEWIDE SURVEY

The Public Policy Institute of California's Statewide Survey, directed by Mark Baldassare, contacted 2,056 California adults 2/4 – 2/14/2002. It's error margin is +/- 2% for the overall sample and +/- 2.5% for the 1,461 registered voters interviewed.

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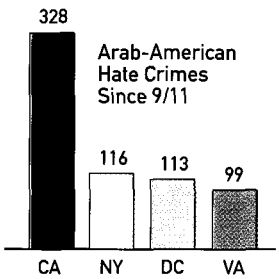
Terrorism and Tolerance

fallout

California's diverse population includes the largest concentration of Arab Americans in the U.S. As a result, part of the Sept. 11 fallout involves a rise in hate crimes, as well as new efforts to heighten the understanding of Arab-American culture and the Islamic religion.

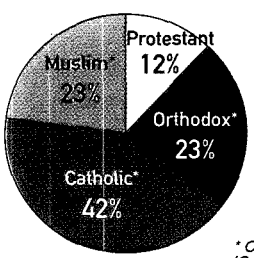
There are more than 3 million Arab Americans in the United States. The nation's largest Arab-American community, with more than 200,000 residents, is in Los Angeles.

California authorities did not track hate crimes against Arab Americans until Sept. 11. Last September, five California cities (Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Jose, San Diego and Sacramento) reported 182 hate crimes against Arab Americans. The number dropped precipitously by November when those cities reported just 17 incidents. In 2000, California reported a total of 1,960 hate crimes in all categories.



The 328 hate-crime incidents phoned into the California chapter of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) since Sept. 11 totalled nearly three times as many as second-place New York.

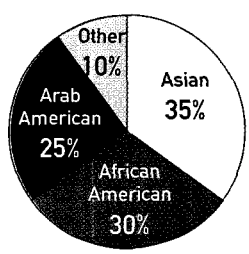
At least five deaths of Arab Americans in California following Sept. 11 are being investigated as hate crimes, including the shooting of a Syrian grocery store owner and a Palestinian clothing salesman going door-to-door, both in Los Angeles.



Arab American Religious Affiliation*

Twenty-three percent of Arab Americans nationwide are Muslim, according to the Arab American Institute Foundation in Washington, D.C. Muslims in the U.S. are just as likely to be Asian or African American, according to a separate national survey.

** Catholic includes:* Roman Catholic, Maronite and Melkite (Greek Catholic); ** Orthodox includes:* Antiochan, Syrian, Greek and Coptic; **Muslim includes:* Sunni and Shi'a Druze



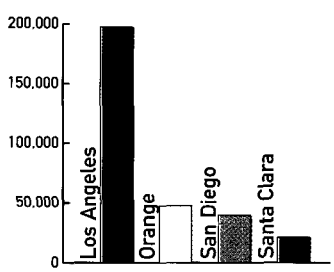
Muslim Ethnicity**

In the wake of Sept. 11, Arab American and Muslim groups have increased their public outreach efforts. These include:

A public relations campaign in Southern California, home to an estimated 600,000 Muslims, features billboards in three high-traffic Orange County and Los Angeles locations. A fourth is expected to appear in San Bernardino.

A statewide voter registration drive aimed at registering as many as 15,000 new Muslim voters kicked off on Feb. 22, in conjunction with Eid-al-adha, the annual celebration of the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Muslim representatives are meeting with local law enforcement agencies statewide to promote greater understanding of their culture and beliefs.



Largest Arab-American Counties in California

CAIR billboard in LA

Sources: *Arab American Institute Foundation; **Council on American-Islamic Relations; "The Mosque in America: A National Portrait," April 2001; Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee; California Attorney General's Office.

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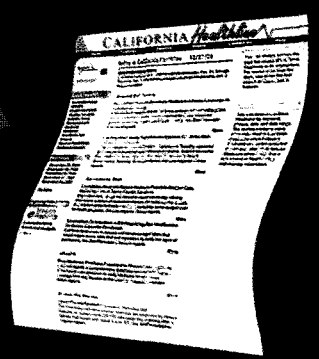

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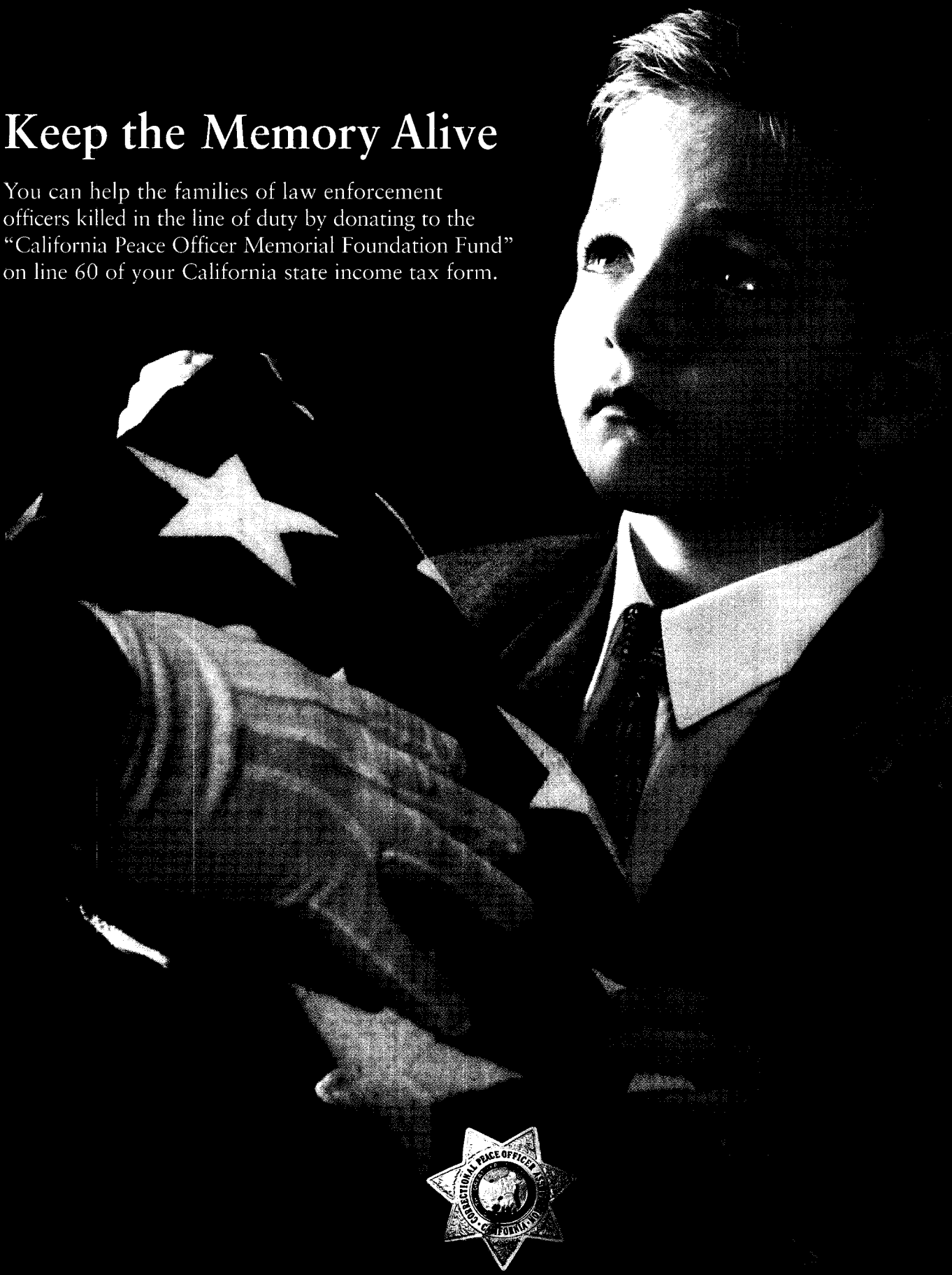
Keep the Memory Alive

You can help the families of law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty by donating to the "California Peace Officer Memorial Foundation Fund" on line 60 of your California state income tax form.



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